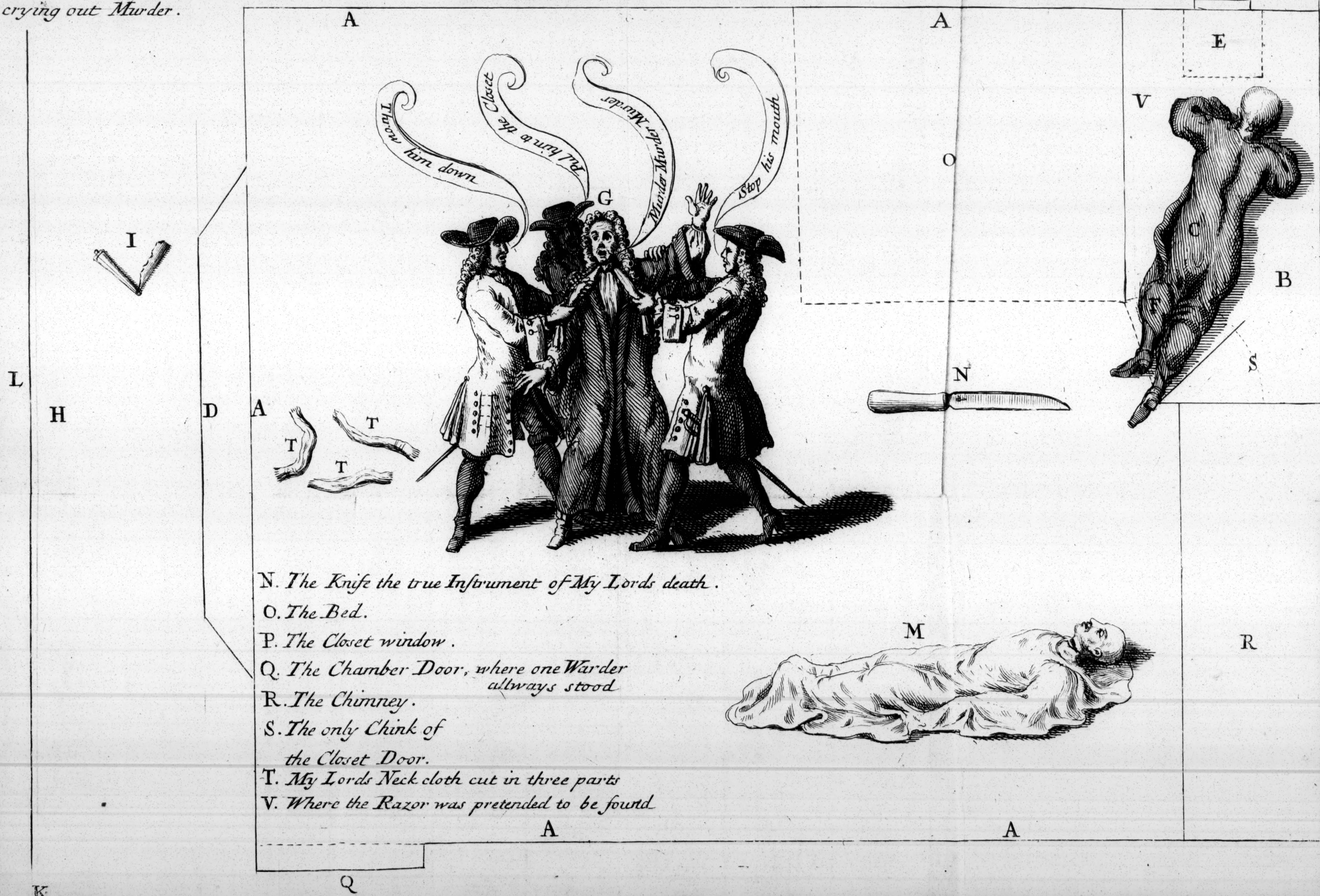


D. *The Chamber Window through which my Lord was seen & heard struggling with y<sup>e</sup> Murderers & his Lordship then (several times) crying out Murder.*

I. The place where y<sup>e</sup> bloody Razor fell that  
was thrown out of the Chamber window  
with several Notches in it

M. *My Lords Body strip'd & Cover'd all over except his neck where his throat was cut & in that posture the jewry too slightly view'd y<sup>e</sup> Body before they Adjourn'd to any other house to consider their Inquisition.* P



V. Where the Razor was pretended to be found

A

A



)



Bishop *BURNET's*  
L A T E  
H I S T O R Y  
Charg'd with Great  
P A R T I A L I T Y  
A N D  
M I S R E P R E S E N T A T I O N S,

To make the *present*, and *future* Ages believe, that  
*Arthur* Earl of *Essex*, in 1683, murdered himself.

But the *Memory* of that Great Patriot, is here vindicated from that false Charge, and it's here prov'd, that his Lordship was barbarously Murder'd, in the Tower, the third Morning after his Commitment. And Mr. Braddon, in 1683, was Prosecuted and Fin'd Two Thousand Pounds, and order'd to give Security for his good Behaviour during Life, for Endeavouring, by Lawful Means, to discover this Murder; and he was imprison'd near Five Years, before the Revolution discharg'd him.

And, in 1688, and 89 Mr. Braddon prosecuted that Inquiry, before a Secret Committee of Lord's; and near Sixty Witnesses were Examin'd, in relation to that Murder; and An Abstract of their Examinations, is here Reprinted; with Remarks thereupon. And the Reason given why the Lords, upon those Examinations, came to no Resolution, in relation to the manner of his Lordship's Death.

With Observations upon the suppos'd poisoning of King CHARLES the Second; and ONE of the most probable Causes thereof, is here mention'd.

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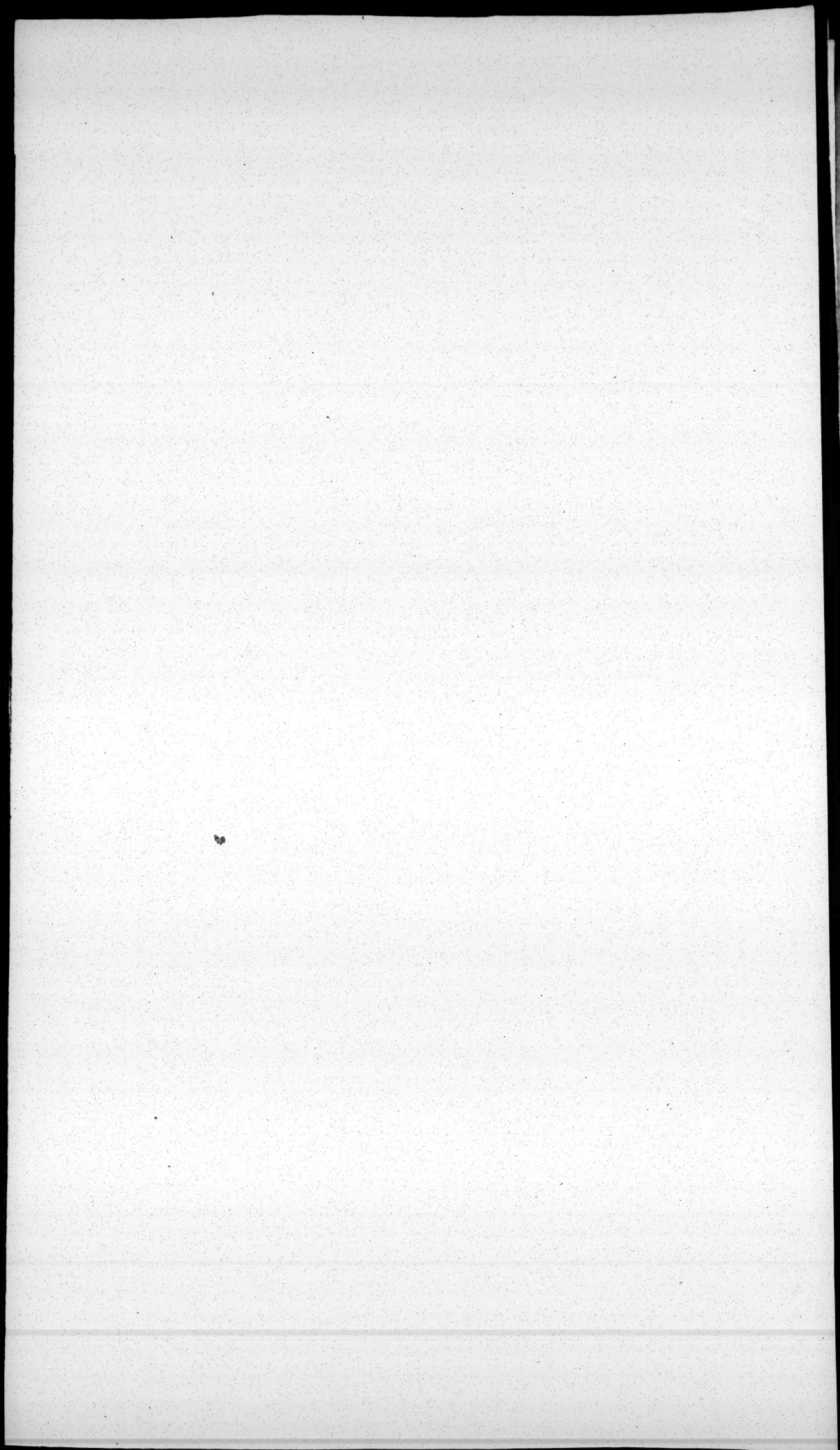
Written by Mr. BRADDON.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for T H O. W A R N E R, in Pater-noster-Row.







Bishop **BURNET's**  
L A T E  
**HISTORY**  
Charg'd with Great  
**PARTIALITY**  
A N D  
**MISREPRESENTATIONS,**

To make the *present*, and *future* Ages believe, that  
*Arthur* Earl of *Essex*, in 1683, murdered himself.

But the *Memory* of that Great Patriot, is here vindicated from that false Charge, and it's here prov'd, that his Lordship was barbarously Murder'd, in the Tower, the third Morning after his Commitment. And Mr. Braddon, in 1683, was Prosecuted and Fin'd Two Thousand Pounds, and order'd to give Security for his good Behaviour during Life, for Endeavouring, by Lawful Means, to discover this Murder; and he was imprison'd near Five Years, before the Revolution discharg'd him.

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Written by Mr. BRADDON.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for T<sup>HO</sup>. W A R N E R, in Pater-noster-Row.



Bishop BURNETT'S  
LATE  
HISTORY  
OF  
PARTIALITY  
AND  
MISREPRESENTATIONS



Written by M. BURNETT.

LONDON:

Printed for T. W. ARNOLD, 10, Abchurch Lane.



To the Right Honourable  
**WILLIAM** Earl of *Essex*, &c.

And to all the  
Right Honourable and Honourable DE-  
SCENDANTS from, and RELATIONS to  
that Noble FAMILY,

THIS  
**VINDICATION**

Of that Great Patriot,  
*Arthur* Earl of *ESSEX*,  
(who, in 1683, was treacherously  
and barbarously MURDER'D in the  
*Tower*)

FROM  
Bishop *Burnet's* false Charge  
OF

**SELF-MURDER,**

Is Humbly DEDICATED  
By his Lordships, and their Honours  
most Humble, and most  
Obedient Servant,

**LAURENCE BRADDON.**

To the Right Honourable

WILLIAM EARL OF ESSEX &c

And to all the

Right Honourable and Honourable De-

scendants from, and Relations to

the Noble Family

THIS

VINDICATION

Of the Great Lady

Arthur Earl of ESSEX

(who, in 1683, was treacherously

and barbarously murdered in the

Tower)

FROM

Bishop Burnet's false Charge

OF

SELF MURDER,

A History Detested

By the Learned and Honourable

Lord Brouncker

Chancellor

LAWRENCE BRADDOCK,





T H E  
P R E F A C E.

‘ **H**AD I not been afflicted with Sickneſs  
‘ for *many Months* paſt, and otherwiſe  
‘ hinder’d from writing what I have  
‘ now publiſh’d relating to my Lord  
‘ of *Effex*’s Death, I ſhould long ſince have  
‘ endeavour’d to *Vindicate* the Memory, of  
‘ that GREAT PATRIOT, and Noble Lord,  
‘ Arthur Earl of Effex, from the FALSE Charge  
‘ of *Self-Murder*, in Biſhop Burnet’s late Hi-  
‘ ſtory contain’d. And I would have alſo en-  
‘ deavour’d to have *clear’d* my ſelf, from that  
‘ *unjuſt Reflection*, of being an *Enthuſiaſt*, as  
‘ that *Prelate*, hath therein *represented me to*  
‘ *be*

‘ When in 1683, I was engag’d in the Inquiry  
‘ into the Death of the Earl of *Effex* - - The Pa-  
‘ piſts then represented me to be a MAD-MAN;  
‘ and therefore thoſe *Slanderers*, then ſaid  
‘ that no regard was to be had, to what I did, in  
‘ relation to my Inquiry into the Death of the

B

‘ Earl

‘ Earl of *Effex*. But those my *Popish-False-Accu-*  
 ‘ *sers*, did not then consider, that by that Report,  
 ‘ they cast a much *greater Reflection*, upon their  
 ‘ then *Favorite-Ministry*, who at the Council Board  
 ‘ then demanded of me Bonds (with good Sure-  
 ‘ ties) in *Twelve Thousand Pounds*, for my Ap-  
 ‘ pearance, and as much more, with good Sureties  
 ‘ for my good Behaviour. Certainly all those Privy  
 ‘ Counsellors then at that Council-Board, had then  
 ‘ justly deserv’d to be term’d MAD, for requiring  
 ‘ Twelve Thousand Pound Bonds, with good  
 ‘ Sureties for the *good Behaviour* of a *mad Man*,  
 ‘ had I then been really SUCH - -

‘ But this *Reverend Prelate* in his late History  
 ‘ hath (in effect) REVIVED that Charge against  
 ‘ me, by representing me an ENTHUSIASTI-  
 ‘ CAL MAN, (that is) one MADLY possess’d  
 ‘ with *false Notions in Religious Matters*.

‘ Now this Bishop being *resolv’d* to represent  
 ‘ *Arthur* Earl of *Effex* as *Felo-de-se*, and well  
 ‘ knowing, that I had, by a very long and *Expen-*  
 ‘ *sive* Inquiry, endeavour’d to prove that his Lord-  
 ‘ ship was *treacherously Murder’d*. That great Pre-  
 ‘ late was therefore also resolv’d to give me such  
 ‘ a CONTEMPTABLE CHARACTER, that  
 ‘ all Men, who should believe me to be SUCH,  
 ‘ would *immediately reject*, and *dispiſe* ALL  
 ‘ THE PROOFS, by me brought in contra-  
 ‘ diction to the Bishops Suggestions. For all  
 ‘ Men of Observation find THIS to be True  
 ‘ (*viz.*) That the GENERALLITY of Mankind  
 ‘ believe things to be true MORE, from the Cha-  
 ‘ racter of the Relator, than from the Arguments  
 ‘ which



## The PREFACE.

3

‘ which he brings to prove his *Affertions* to be true.  
‘ And therefore if a Man be (tho’ unjustly)  
‘ thought a contemptable Fellow - - -

‘ All his Arguments which he brings, for his  
‘ Opinion, tho’ never so *conclusive*, shall not (by  
‘ those who despise his Person) be *at all* *conside-*  
‘ *red*, but immediately rejected, with Con-  
‘ tempt.

‘ And this I do solemnly say, that I do believe,  
‘ the *Memory* of that Great, but *unfortunate*  
‘ Peer, hath suffer’d more *injustice* from what  
‘ that learn’d Dignatary hath *said, writ and done*,  
‘ to prove my Lord a *Self-murderer*, than by all  
‘ that was Sworn before the Coroner in Proof  
‘ thereof.

‘ For my Lady’s *belief* of the *Self-murder*,  
‘ hath (in common Conversation) been always  
‘ *urg’d* as the *Principal Argument* to make others  
‘ *believe, that his Lordship cut his own Throat*.  
‘ And (by the Bishops late History) it appears,  
‘ that *such* her Opinion, was principally ground-  
‘ ed upon that Bishop’s *Judgment*, or upon  
‘ what he DECLAR’D in relation thereunto.

‘ And, it appears by what follows, that I have  
‘ suffer’d more Misfortunes, from that Bishop’s  
‘ *unjust Character* given me, than by the *arbi-*  
‘ *trary Prosecution* of a corrupt Administration, in  
‘ the Reign of K. Charles the Second. For that last  
‘ Misfortune, continued about *five Years*, and *all*  
‘ *that time* I was *pitty’d* by those, who knew  
‘ my *Sufferings*, and *wish’d well* to their Native  
‘ Country. But the Bishop, in common Con-  
‘ versation, representing me an *Enthusiast* and

‘ a *mad Man*, hath (by those who believ’d me  
 ‘ deserving those Characters) made me to be *de-*  
 ‘ *spis’d and treated with Contempt*, for FIVE and  
 ‘ THIRTY Years past. And therefore I can  
 ‘ truly say that I have suffer’d more *Injustice*  
 ‘ *occasion’d* by that Bishop’s *ill Treatment*, than  
 ‘ from the *Tyranical Oppression*, of a *prevalent*  
 ‘ *Popish Faction*, by five Years unjust Imprison-  
 ‘ ment.

‘ Soon after Doctor *Burnet*, in 1688, came  
 ‘ with the then PRINCE of ORANGE, to  
 ‘ London, I met him at St. *James’s* Pallace,  
 ‘ where he treated me, with a SEEMING *great*  
 ‘ *Affection*, then *assuring* me, that he would do  
 ‘ me *all the Service* within his Power. But as  
 ‘ soon as I *renew’d*, before the House of Lord’s,  
 ‘ th’ Inquiry into my Lord’s Murder, that Reve-  
 ‘ rend Doctor’s *carriage* towards me was *mighti-*  
 ‘ *ly chang’d*, and, instead of speaking *kindly*,  
 ‘ to me, he would not after that so much as  
 ‘ afford me a *favourable Countenance*; but when  
 ‘ ever he saw me, he would *turn away* his Face,  
 ‘ with *such an Air of Contempt*, as prov’d, that  
 ‘ he thought me *not deserving* that *common Re-*  
 ‘ *spect*, which is generally due to all Mankind.  
 ‘ For that learn’d Doctor, in 1683, having  
 ‘ *binder’d* my Lady from then Prosecuting my  
 ‘ Lord’s Murderers; and having then endea-  
 ‘ vour’d to perswade her Ladyship, and all o-  
 ‘ thers with whom he then Convers’d relating  
 ‘ to my Lord’s Death, that my Lord himself cut  
 ‘ *his own Throat*. That great *Judge of Men*  
 ‘ *and Things* would much rather, that the Me-  
 ‘ mory



# The PREFACE.

5

‘ mory of my Lord of *Essex* [his noble Friend]  
 ‘ *should continue to ROT*, under an *infamous* (*tho’*  
 ‘ *false*) *Charge of Self murder* - - - Than that his  
 ‘ *OWN great Judgment should appear to have been*  
 ‘ *IMPOS'D UPON*, in relation thereunto.

In the Title of this Discourse, I have charg’d  
 ‘ *Bishop Burnet’s late History with great PAR-*  
 ‘ *TIALITY and MISREPRESENTATIONS*, to  
 ‘ *make the present and future Ages BELIEVE*,  
 ‘ *that Arthur Earl of Essex, in 1683, Murdered*  
 ‘ *himself in the Tower.* Now,

‘ If in the following Discourse, it shall  
 ‘ plainly appear, to every unprejudic’d and judi-  
 ‘ cious Reader, That the Bishop, in that History,  
 ‘ hath omitted all the material Proofs, which,  
 ‘ that Prelate was credibly inform’d, were *Sworn*  
 ‘ by many credible Persons before the Secret  
 ‘ Committee of Lords, to prove that my Lord was  
 ‘ treacherously and barbarously Murder’d. And,

‘ If on the contrary, that Prelate hath assert-  
 ‘ ed, in Proof of the (pretended) *Self-murder*,  
 ‘ several things as *credible*, from the Authority  
 ‘ of that very perverted Papist [*Bomeny*,] whose  
 ‘ Information before my Lord’s Coroner, and his  
 ‘ *near Station* to my Lord of *Essex*, at the time  
 ‘ of his Death, *MUST* prove him *privy TO*,  
 ‘ if not *acting IN* my Lord’s Murder, in case  
 ‘ his Lordship was barbarously murder’d by o-  
 ‘ thers. I say, *INTIRELY* to omit *ALL* the  
 ‘ *material* and credible Proofs, in favour of my  
 ‘ Lord, whom that Prelate declares to have been  
 ‘ *ONE* of the *two best Friends*, he had in  
 ‘ the World. And, (*E. Contra*,) for proving this  
 ‘ (pre-

‘ (pretended) *Self-murder*, for this Bishop to assert, *as credible*, the Relation of a PAPIST, who was *justly suspected to have been in this Murder*, *MUST* prove this Prelate to have been *very PARTIAL*, in such his *Representation* of things, relating to my Lord’s Death; and also *very unjust* and *INGRATEFUL*, to the Memory of his noble Friends, and great *BENEFACTOR*.  
 ‘ And,

‘ If it shall farther appear, that this *learn’d Prelate*, hath, *imperfectly* and *unintelligibly*, represented some things, Sworn at my Tryal, in Proof of my Lord’s being *treacherously Murder’d*. And (at the same time) in favour of the pretended *Self-murder*, hath asserted some things as credible, which his Lordship had Cause to believe to be *FALSE*. Then may that Bishop be truly charg’d with unjust Mis-representations.

‘ And the Bishop hath not only endeavour’d, (by what his Lordship thought proper Arguments,) to prove *th’ Earl Felo-de-se*; but that Prelate would perswade the World, *that is was IMPOSSIBLE* it should be otherwise. For the Bishop saith,

‘ *That when my Lord’s Body was brought home to his own House, and the wound was examin’d by his own Surgeon, he told me, it was IMPOSSIBLE the wound could be as it was, if given by any other Hand but his OWN.* What this Surgeon thus told the Bishop, that Prelate *believ’d to be true*, or he would not here have mention’d it; tho’ the Reason that Surgeon then gave  
 ‘ the



‘ the Doctor, for *such* his Opinion, was both  
‘ FALSE and REDICULOUS, (*viz.*)

‘ For (saith that Surgeon) *except he had cast*  
‘ *his Head back, and stretch’d up his Neck, all*  
‘ *he could, the Aspera Arteria must have been cut.*

‘ Here my Lord’s Surgeon deny’s, that the  
‘ *Aspera Arteria* were cut, which there is Rea-  
‘ son to believe to be F A L S E, because  
‘ the two Surgeons, who view’d my Lord’s  
‘ Body in the Tower, have Sworn, that the  
‘ *Aspera Arteria* were cut. But admitting they  
‘ were not cut, the *Rediculous* part of that Sur-  
‘ geons Reasons, [*wherefore none but my Lord*  
‘ *could do it, in the manner it was done,*] consists  
‘ in saying to this Effect (*viz.*) *That no Per-*  
‘ *son or Persons whatsoever, could hold my Lord’s*  
‘ *Head so far back, and stretch out his Neck so*  
‘ *much, whilst his Throat was cutting, as my*  
‘ Lord himself could do it.

‘ Now this is contrary to what was declar’d  
‘ before the Lord’s Committees, by several judi-  
‘ cious Physitians and Surgeons, who were great  
‘ *Anatomists*. For all those *Anatomists* told their  
‘ Lordships that they would not *possitively* say that  
‘ it was *Impossible* for my Lord to cut his Throat  
‘ through each Jugular Vein, the *Aspera Arteria*  
‘ and Gullet, to the very Neck-bone, and even  
‘ *bebind* each Jugular Vein, on each side of the  
‘ Neck, as some judicious Surgeons, who had  
‘ view’d the Throat, had reported it to be cut.  
‘ But T H I S they would be very possitive in  
‘ (*viz.*) That they never saw any Man’s Throat  
‘ SO CUT, which was cut by himself. And  
‘ they

‘ they did then farther declare to their Lord-  
 ‘ ships, that they did believe, *that when any*  
 ‘ *Man had cut through one of his Jugular Veins,*  
 ‘ *and the Gullet and Wind-pipe, and to the very*  
 ‘ *Neck-bone, Nature would thereby be so much*  
 ‘ *weaken’d, by the great Effusion of blood and ani-*  
 ‘ *mal Spirits, that the Felo-de-se would not have*  
 ‘ *strength sufficient, to cut through, and BEHIND*  
 ‘ *the other Jugular, as my Lords Throat, by Sur-*  
 ‘ *geons which saw it, was said to be cut.*

‘ Besides, my Lord Bishop was credibly in-  
 ‘ form’d, that my Lord’s Centinel had confess’d  
 ‘ the letting in *three* Men to my Lord a little  
 ‘ before his Death. And that thereupon he  
 ‘ heard a great trampling in my Lord’s Chamber,  
 ‘ and he heard something there fall, or thrown  
 ‘ down, like the fall of a Man. And the Bi-  
 ‘ shop was farther credibly inform’d, that it was  
 ‘ Sworn that four Men were seen bustling in  
 ‘ my Lord’s Chamber, a little before his Death  
 ‘ was known, and that one of those four, this  
 ‘ Informant heard cry out Murder! several  
 ‘ Times.

‘ Now I desire to know, whether *two* of those  
 ‘ three Assassins, kneeling on my Lord’s Back,  
 ‘ and with the additional weight of the third Ruf-  
 ‘ fin’s Body. I say, whether two of those  
 ‘ *Ruffins*, thus assisted with the third *Bravo’s*  
 ‘ weight, could not keep my Lord down upon his  
 ‘ Belly. and hold his Hands, behind his Back,  
 ‘ whilst the third bloody Villain, with one  
 ‘ Hand, pull’d up, and back my Lord’s Head,  
 ‘ and SO stretch’d out his Neck as *far*, and as  
 ‘ long



‘ long as it was necessary to be stretch’d out,  
 ‘ whilst, with the other Hand, he cut his Throat,  
 ‘ either *above* or *through* the *Aspera Arteria*, and  
 ‘ through and behind both the Jugular Veins,  
 ‘ and through the Gullet, even to the Neck-  
 ‘ bone. That Surgeon who shall say, that three  
 ‘ bloody Ruffins, can’t give such a cut, as well  
 ‘ as the *Felo-de-se* himself, can perform such an  
 ‘ Operation, deserves more to be *Laugh’d at*,  
 ‘ than confuted by serious Arguments.

‘ Objection. If any shall object against me, on be-  
 ‘ half of the Bishops late History, and say, that the  
 ‘ Bishop writ by the way of Annals. And what,  
 ‘ in that History was writ, in relation to the Im-  
 ‘ prisonment, and Death of that noble, but unfor-  
 ‘ tunate Lord, was writ in the Years, 1683-84,  
 ‘ and consequently it was not possible, for my Lord  
 ‘ Bishop, in those Years, to write what was six  
 ‘ Years after that Sworn in Proof of my Lords  
 ‘ being Murder’d by others.

‘ And therefore that Part of my Lord Bishops  
 ‘ History ought not to be charg’d, either with Par-  
 ‘ tiality or Misrepresentations, for omitting in  
 ‘ 1683-84 what could not possibly be then men-  
 ‘ tion’d.

‘ Answer, If an Historian will in every Year  
 ‘ write *Annals*, relating to the publick, wherein  
 ‘ he intends to mention all Material publick  
 ‘ Transactions, which he *Knows*, or, hath been  
 ‘ credibly inform’d, have been done. And this  
 ‘ Historian resolves, whilst he lives, to keep by him  
 ‘ all those *Annals* in Manuscript, and by his  
 C Will,

' Will, or otherwise orders those Memorials not  
 ' to be printed until six Years after his Death.  
 ' If that Historian shall, six Years after some-  
 ' things by him writ, receive much better and  
 ' more particular Information, in relation to some  
 ' Entries by him before made, through an im-  
 ' perfect Information of things, relating thereunto.  
 ' THEN Such an Historian ought to review  
 ' and compare his after Information of Facts,  
 ' with those Accounts he had before receiv'd,  
 ' and writ down. And to *consider* and *compare*,  
 ' the *credibility* of those after Informations, with  
 ' the credit of those he had before believ'd, and en-  
 ' tred. And if he finds, those latter Accounts, are  
 ' grounded upon *much better Authorities*, than those  
 ' which he had formerly believ'd and writ down.  
 ' THEN that Historian, upon such a Review and  
 ' Conviction, of the FALESHOODS or *Defects*  
 ' of his first Memorials, OUGHT, in *Injustice* to  
 ' the *Characters of Men, and Truth of things*, to  
 ' correct his old Mis-Entries, and to leave things,  
 ' to be publish'd to the World in THAT LIGHT,  
 ' which he believes to be the TRUEST LIGHT,  
 ' for the right Information of Mankind. And  
 ' the Bishop liv'd 30 Years after his Mis-Entries  
 ' of 1683-4 relating to my Lord's Death; which  
 ' gave his Lordship time sufficient to Correct  
 ' his former Mis-Entries relating to my Lord  
 ' of *Essex*. And this *After Review* and *Cor-*  
 ' *rection* that Historian was the more oblig'd to  
 ' make, when he resolv'd, in his Preface to his  
 ' then intended History, to make this solemn  
 ' Declaration. *I do solemnly say this to the*  
 ' *World,*



# The PREFACE.

II

‘ *World, and MAKE MY HUMBLE APPEAL*  
‘ *UPON IT TO THE GREAT GOD OF TRUTH.*  
‘ *That I tell the Truth on all Occasions as FULL-*  
‘ *LY and FREELY, as upon my BEST ENQUI-*  
‘ *RY, I have been able to find it out. Where things*  
‘ *appear doubtful, I deliver them with the same*  
‘ *uncertainty to the World.*

‘ *By this humble Appeal to the great God of*  
‘ *Truth, the Bishop did believe he should give*  
‘ *the greater Credit to his History. For this*  
‘ *Prelate doth thereby, not only (in foro Con-*  
‘ *scienciæ) SWEAR, THAT ALL things*  
‘ *which in his late History he asserts, within his*  
‘ *own Knowledge is TRUE. And that ALL*  
‘ *things (by him related from Information) HE*  
‘ *BELIEUES to be TRUE. But this Bishop,*  
‘ *doth, in this humble Appeal, farther (in effect)*  
‘ *SWEAR, that he tells the Truth as FULLY*  
‘ *and FREELY, that is to say, the Substance of*  
‘ *the whole Truth, without any favour or affecti-*  
‘ *on, to any Person or Party, as far as it fell*  
‘ *within his own Knowledge, or which, upon*  
‘ *his best Inquiry, he hath been able to find it*  
‘ *out. Now,*

‘ *For as much as this humble Appeal is justly*  
‘ *applicable to every particular Passage in his*  
‘ *History contain'd. If therefore this learn'd*  
‘ *Dignatory shall be detected, in one or more*  
‘ *Instances of his said History of great Partiali-*  
‘ *ty, or which is worse, of asserting for Truths*  
‘ *what the Bishop had good Cause to believe to*  
‘ *be great Falshoods. THEN this humble Ap-*  
‘ *peal to the great God of Truth, will be so*

‘ far from giving Credit to his Lordship’s late  
 ‘ History, That, on, the contrary, it will make the  
 ‘ Credit of every Part thereof, *which shall Ap-*  
 ‘ *pear to be ONLY supported by the Credit of this*  
 ‘ *learn’d Historian*) to be justly suspected. For

‘ If a Deponent shall, upon Interrogatories,  
 ‘ positively affirm fifty particulars to be *True*,  
 ‘ and *Forty-nine* of these are really *True*. Yet  
 ‘ if this Deponent, shall be convicted, of having  
 ‘ Sworn *falsly*, *ONLY* as to the fifty’th Fact, by  
 ‘ him positively assert’d. His credibility, by  
 ‘ that one Conviction is *intirely destroy’d*, as to  
 ‘ all the rest of his Depositions, so that (after  
 ‘ such Conviction) no part of his Depositions  
 ‘ shall be read or regarded.

‘ I think it proper here to inform the Reader,  
 ‘ that in the following Discourse I have not  
 ‘ mention’d those Paragraphs in the Bishop’s  
 ‘ late History, which relate to the Imprisonment,  
 ‘ and Death of *Arthur* Earl of *Essex* in 1683, un-  
 ‘ til I had given a very particular Account of  
 ‘ that Lord’s Imprisonment and Death, and what  
 ‘ illegal Measures were taken, to prevent the Co-  
 ‘ roner’s Jury from being rightly inform’d of  
 ‘ what was necessary by them to have been known,  
 ‘ in order to their discovering the *true Manner*  
 ‘ of my Lord’s Death. I have also therein in-  
 ‘ form’d the Reader upon what Occasion it was,  
 ‘ that I, who was altogether a Stranger to that  
 ‘ noble Family, did concern my self to *detect*  
 ‘ the *falsity* of what was Sworn before the Co-  
 ‘ roner to prove the (pretended) *Self-Murder*.  
 ‘ And for *what Ends* or *Purposes* I did then en-  
 ‘ gage



‘ gage in that dangerous Enterprife. What great  
 ‘ Discouragements and Oppreffions, I therein met  
 ‘ with. I have therein alfo given an Historical  
 ‘ Account of what Measures I took, in the Reign  
 ‘ of *K. Charles* the Second to detect that barba-  
 ‘ rous Murder, and what powerful Interest the  
 ‘ then Duke of YORK had to prevent that Dif-  
 ‘ covery, by caufing me to be profecuted, con-  
 ‘ victed and punifh’d as a Criminal, when no-  
 ‘ thing Criminal was prov’d againft me. And  
 ‘ by that Information, upon which I was  
 ‘ try’d I was charg’d with endeavouring to prove  
 ‘ that my Lord of *Effex* was Murder’d by the  
 ‘ Persons in whose Cuftody he was, and contra-  
 ‘ ry to what was found by the Coroners Inqueft.  
 ‘ I have, in the following Difcourfe fhewn how  
 ‘ the Witneffes by me produc’d to prove this  
 ‘ Murder, were *discourag’d* and *brow-beaten* by  
 ‘ the then Court of *King’s-Bench*. And how  
 ‘ the very Men in whose Cuftody my Lord was  
 ‘ at the time of his Death, were call’d a *Cloud*  
 ‘ of Witneffes, not only to prove me a Criminal  
 ‘ for endeavouring (by lawful Means) to prove  
 ‘ the ‘moft Material of thofe Witneffes guilty of  
 ‘ my Lord’s blood. But thofe very Men were al-  
 ‘ fo admitted as good Witneffes to prove that  
 ‘ they themfelves did not Murder his Lordfhip,  
 ‘ but that th’ Earl himfelf became *Felo-de-fe*.

‘ No juftly fufpected *Britifh* Murderers did e-  
 ‘ ver meet with fuch a powerful Protection  
 ‘ from fuch a Supream Court of Juftice. Nor  
 ‘ did any lawful endeavours to detect a Murder,  
 ‘ ever in this Nation receive fuch an ill Treat-  
 ‘ ment,

' ment, as I have herein met with from a  
 ' Court of Justice. In the following Discourse  
 ' I have given a particular Account how the In-  
 ' quiry, into my Lord's Death, came before the  
 ' Convention Parliament in 1688. And what  
 ' Witnesses were examin'd before the Lord's  
 ' Committees, then appoint'd to enquire into  
 ' that Matter. *Why* those Lord's Committees  
 ' made no Regular Report, upon those Informa-  
 ' tions and Examinations, by them taken. And  
 ' *How* it came to pass, when many Informations  
 ' and Examinations were read in the House of  
 ' Lord's, relating to my Lord's Death, that  
 ' their Lordships did not T H E N declare  
 ' their Opinion, as *to the manner of that*  
 ' *unfortunate Lord's Death*. And there in  
 ' is farther declar'd, *How* the Secret Com-  
 ' mittee was reviv'd in the second Session of the  
 ' Convention Parliament. And what Proceed-  
 ' ings were thereupon. And how the Preroga-  
 ' tion and Dissolution of that Parliament did  
 ' stop any farther Proceedings in that Inqui-  
 ' ry.

' I have in the following Discourse declar'd,  
 ' that the Substance of all the material  
 ' Proofs therein mention'd, and, said to have  
 ' been taken before the Lord's Committees,  
 ' and some Justices of the Peace in the  
 ' Year 1688-89. Were by me Printed and  
 ' publish'd in the Year 1690, in a Letter to  
 ' a Friend touching the Murder of that great  
 ' but unfortunate Lord. Which Letter Bishop  
 ' *Burnet* read, soon after it's Publication. This  
 ' plainly



' plainly appears by the Bishop's repeating, in  
 ' three several Gazetts, a Declaration, wherein  
 ' he doth deny the Truth, of one Argument,  
 ' which (as I had been inform'd) that Prelate  
 ' us'd, to make several Lord's believe, that the  
 ' Earl of *Essex* Murder'd himself. Now to  
 ' prove that the Bishop was guilty of great  
 ' Partiality and Mis-representations in what in  
 ' his late History he hath writ relating to my  
 ' Lord's Imprisonment, and Death. I thought it  
 ' proper that all those Informations, taken to  
 ' prove my Lord's Murder, I should at large  
 ' mention, *before* I gave an Account of those  
 ' two particular Paragraphs, in the Bishop's late  
 ' History, wherein that Prelate gives a very  
 ' *partial, imperfect*, and (indeed) *unintelligible* Ac-  
 ' count of things, relating to my Lord's Death.  
 ' And for as much as the Bishop had about Twen-  
 ' ty four Years time to correct his Mis-Entries,  
 ' in 1683-84 relating to my Lord's Death. With-  
 ' in those many Years, this Prelate might have  
 ' spent some few Hours in reviewing, reconfi-  
 ' dering and correcting those former imperfect  
 ' Memorials, from more credible after infor-  
 ' mations, relating to his noble Benefactor's Death.  
 ' But for as much as those *Moral Obligations to*  
 ' *TRUTH, Justice and Gratitude*, could not prevail  
 ' with this *learned Historian*, *FULLY* and *FREE-*  
 ' *LY* to declare *THAT* to be *TRUE*, relating to  
 ' my Lord's Death, which upon his *BEST IN-*  
 ' *QUIRY* he had just Cause to *BELIEVE* to be  
 ' *SO*. It will make many Gentlemen to Questi-  
 ' on the Truth of some other parts of that Histo-  
 ' ry

‘ry, notwithstanding by his Lordship’s *humble*  
 ‘*Appeal to the Great GOD of TRUTH,*  
 ‘that Prelate did (ineffect) SWEAR to the  
 ‘*Truth* of all things by him related, *within*  
 ‘*his own Knowledge.* And for his *sincere Be-*  
 ‘*lief* of all things by him mention’d by Infor-  
 ‘mation.

‘ I do here beg the Reader’s pardon for re-  
 ‘peating (in the following Discourse) the  
 ‘Proofs given in Evidence for my Lord’s be-  
 ‘ing Murder’d. But the Reason of that Repe-  
 ‘tition was this, (*viz.*)

‘ In the first Account given (in the Subse-  
 ‘quent Discourse) of the Proofs for my Lord’s  
 ‘being Murder’d, I had been more large in my  
 ‘Remarks thereupon, than at first I intended to  
 ‘have been. And I was afraid that those many  
 ‘Observations upon those Proofs, might blot  
 ‘out the Remembrance of some material Parts  
 ‘of the Evidence. I did therefore think that  
 ‘the Reader would receive and retain a much  
 ‘better Information of those Proofs, when the  
 ‘Substance of those Proofs was contracted into  
 ‘fewer Words. And therefore from Page 120 to  
 ‘149 I have repeated the Substance, of what had  
 ‘been more largely exprest, in Proof of the  
 ‘Murder of that noble Lord and great Patriot  
 ‘*Arthur Earl of Essex.*

Bishop





Bishop *BURNET*'s  
**HISTORY**  
 CHARGED, &c.

PAGE 17.

**T**H E Right Honourable *Arthur* Earl of *Essex* was committed to the *Tower* the 10th of *July*, 1683, by Vertue of a Warrant from Secretary *Jenkins*, which Warrant ran as followeth:

*Sir Lionel Jenkins, Knt. of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, and Principal Secretary of State.*

‘ **T** H E S E are, in his Majesty's Name, to  
 ‘ will and require you to receive into your  
 ‘ Custody the Person of *Arthur* Earl of *Essex*,  
 ‘ herewith sent you, being committed for High-  
 D Treason,

‘ *Treason*, in conspiring the Death of the King,  
 ‘ (whom God preserve) and conspiring to levy  
 ‘ War against his Majesty. And him, the said  
 ‘ Earl of *Essex*, to keep in safe Custody, until  
 ‘ he shall be deliver’d by due Course of Law:  
 ‘ And for so doing, this shall be your Warrant.  
 ‘ Given under my Hand and Seal at *White-Hall*,  
 ‘ the 10th Day of *July*, 1683.

To *Thomas Cheek*, Esq;  
 Lieutenant of his Ma-  
 jesty’s *Tower of London*.

L. JENKINS.

The first Night his Lordship lay at the said  
 Captain *Cheek*’s ; but the next Day was remov’d  
 to Major *Hawley*’s (then Gentleman Porter of the  
*Tower*) and the two Warders, then placed upon  
 his Lordship, were *Nathaniel Monday* and *Thomas*  
*Russel*; one of these was to stand for two Hours  
 at my Lord’s Chamber Door, or in his Chamber,  
 and the other at the Stair’s-Foot ; and thus by  
 Turns. *Paul Bomeny* (a *Frenchman*, and pre-  
 tended *Protestant*) was then my Lord’s Valet de  
 Chambre, and he was permitted to be with his  
 Lordship, and no other Servant of my Lord’s per-  
 mitted to come into my Lord’s Chamber. At  
 Major *Hawley*’s my Lord continued from *Wednes-*  
*day*, the 11th of *July*, to *Friday* then next follow-  
 ing, when, about Nine of the Clock, his Lord-  
 ship was found with his *Throat cut, through both*  
*Jugulars, and Arteres, even to the very Neck Bone*.  
 The next Day, being *Saturday*, the Coroner’s  
 Jury sat, and before them were sworn the afore-  
 said *Paul Bomeny*, the Servant, *Thomas Russel*,  
 one of the said Warders, and two Surgeons ;  
 whose four Informations are here printed, ac-  
 cording



cording to what was that very Day printed, by Publick Authority : But the printed Information of *Bomeny*, essentially differs, from what was written by *Bomeny* himself, and by him deliver'd to the Coroner. And that Information *Bomeny* was suffer'd, by the Coroner and Jury, to write in the next Room, to the Coroner and his Jury : And, in that very next Room, there were several Persons with *Bomeny*, prepared to instruct him, in forging his Information ; and also those *Tutors* then *instructed* the Coroner *how* to manage his Jury ; for when some of the Jury insisted upon seeing the Cloaths, in which my Lord was first found dead, the Coroner was thereupon call'd into that next Room, and, returning to the Jury, then told them, *It was the Body, and not the Cloaths, which they were to sit upon ; the Body they had seen, and that was sufficient.* This was sworn by some of that Jury, before the Secret Committee of Lords. And when several of the Jury propos'd to the Coroner, that they might adjourn this Inquisition until *Monday*, and in the mean Time my Lady *Effex*, and my Lord's Relations, might have Notice of that Adjournment ; so that if they could prove any thing in Favour of my Lord, to prove him murder'd by others, such Evidence might be heard. Thereupon Major *Hawley* came out of the next Room, and then pretended, that King *Charles* had sent an Express for their Inquisition, and that his Majesty had declared he would not rise from Council till that Inquisition was brought him. But Major *Hawley* being ask'd by the Secret Committee who was this Express, that pretended he came from the King,

and thus hurry'd the Jury into their Inquisition. The Major declared, that he knew of no such Express, and that he never so inform'd the Jury, and that he was not near the Jury, at that Publick House, where they consider'd this Matter all the Time of that Inquiry : But several of the Jury swore it upon him. But none of those Tutors, in that next Room, were brought before the Coroner's Jury, by them to be examin'd. And all those before-mention'd Informations, are here printed : But before I shall give you those Informations, I think it proper to mention what Measures were taken, to prevent the Coroner's Jury from receiving all that Information, which was necessary to be given to them, in order to their making a *just Judgment*, of the *true Manner* of my Lord's Death.

All Men know, that when a Person is found, and, by a violent Death, destroy'd, in a Place where the Body may remain safe, that the Body ought to remain *in that very Posture*, wherein it was first found dead, until the Coroner's Jury (who are to make Inquisition into the manner of the Death) have seen the Body. But in the Case of this noble, but unfortunate Lord, and great Patriot, the Case was otherwise managed ; for, on the very Day my Lord was murder'd, Major *Hawley* (at whose House my Lord lay) order'd the Body to be *stript*, and all the *Cloaths carried away*, and both the Chamber and Closet (in which the Body lay) to be wash'd.

This was done to prevent the Coroner's Jury from discovering the true Manner of my Lord's Death : For had the Body continued in that very  
Posture,



Posture, in which *Bomeny*, (my Lord's Valet) and his two *Warders*, first pretended to have found my Lord dead, that very Posture, and together with the Cloaths he wore, when murder'd, would have proved, even to a Demonstration, that his Lordship was barbarously murder'd. And of this, I believe, the Reader will be convinc'd, when I shall here relate how that Servant, and those Warders, first declar'd my Lord lay, when those his Attendants first pretended to have found him dead. And I shall mention those signal Marks of Violence, to be discover'd from some Part of his Cloaths : But I shall first relate how the Coroner's Jury were manag'd, to prevent a true and just Inquisition. On the next Morning after my Lord's Death, the Deputy-Coroner, and his Jury, came to my Lord's Chamber, and there lay the Body stript, and all his Cloaths carry'd away, and only a Sheet over all the Body, except the Head and Neck, where the large Cut might be seen ; and the Room and Closet were wash'd clean from the Blood. After the Coroner and Jury, and two Surgeons, hereafter-mention'd, had once view'd the Body, the Coroner adjourn'd the Jury, to a Publick House in the Tower, where the said *Bomeny* and *Russel*, and the two Surgeons, were sworn and examin'd.

And the Coroner, having sworn *Bomeny*, began to take his Information in Writing, and the Coroner had writ as followeth, *viz.*

**T**H E Information of Paul Bomeny saith, That the Earl of Essex, on the 11th Instant, did speak to this Informant to bring him a Penknife,  
to

*to pare his Nails, but the Informant could not then get one. The Earl of Essex call'd to him again on Friday the 13th Instant, about Eight of the Clock in the Forenoon, did again speak to this Informant to bring him a Penknife, to pare his Nails : But this Deponent telling him that he had not one, his Lordship commanded him to bring him a Razor, which he did accordingly; and then his Lordship walk'd up and down the Room, scraping his Nails with it, and this Informant then left him, and coming about half an Hour afterwards up into the Bed-Chamber, found his Closet Door fast; whereupon this Informant knock'd at the Door, and call'd, my Lord, my Lord; but he not answering, push'd the Door a little open, where he did see his Lord lying all at length on the Ground in his Blood, and the Razor near him on the Ground. And farther deposeth, That he hath not any Papers of his Lords, nor doth know where any of his Papers or Writings are : And also, that on Thursday Night last was very merry at Supper, and did not seem to be discontented the next Morning.*

The above Information is verbatim, as the Coroner took it from *Bomeny's* Mouth, and the Coroner, upon his Oath, deliver'd this Information to the Secret Committee: But the Coroner did farther (upon Oath) declare, That he [the Coroner] proceeding to ask farther Questions, *Bomeny* began extreamly to hesitate, and thereupon desir'd that himself might write his own Information, which was accordingly granted, and the said *Bomeny* was thereupon suffer'd, by the Coroner and his Jury, to retire from the Coroner and Jury  
into



into the next Room, where several Persons were ready prepared to assist him in forming his Information; and having remain'd in that next Room a considerable Time, he then return'd to the Coroner and Jury, and brought an Information ready writ, and here-under printed and remark'd, as it was first deliver'd by *Bomeny* to the Coroner, and afterwards alter'd by the Coroner in one Place; and after that, and before it was printed by the then Secretary of State, or some under Clark in some other Parts of that Information; for the Coroner, that very *Saturday*, carried the Inquisition and Informations aforesaid, to the Secretary's Office, and that *Saturday* Night they were printed by Authority, and publish'd the *Monday* Morning following. *Bomeny's* second Information, with proper Remarks, is as followeth, *viz.*

The Information of *Paul Bomeny*, Servant to the late Earl of *Essex* for about three or four Years now last past, taken upon Oath, the 14th Day of *July*, 1683, Anno Regni *Caroli Secundi*, Dei Gratia *Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ*, Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. T ricesimo quinto, Annoq; Dom. 1683.

*S A I T H*, That when my Lord came to Captain *Hawley's*, which was the 11th Instant, my Lord of *Essex* ask'd him for a Penknife to pare his Nails, as he was wont to do, which this Informant answer'd, being come in haste, he had not brought it, but he would send for one; and accordingly sent the Footman, with a Note, for several Things for my Lord, amongst which the Penknife was inserted,  
and

and the Footman went and gave the Bill to my Lord's Steward, who sent the Provisions, but not the Penknife, and he told the Footman he would get one the next Day. When the Footman was come, my Lord ask'd if the Penknife was come?

This Informant answer'd, No; but he would  
 Note. have it the NEXT DAY. And accordingly on the 12th Instant, in the Morning, before my Lord of Essex was up, this Informant sent the Footman home with a Note to the Steward, in which, among other Things, he ask'd for a Penknife for my Lord. When the Footman was gone, about, or a little after Eight of the Clock, my Lord sent one Mr. Russel, his Warder, to this Informant, who came, and then he ask'd if the Penknife was come? This Informant said, No, my Lord, but I shall have it by and by: To which my Lord said, he should bring him one of his Razors, it would do as well; and then this Informant went and fetch'd one, and gave it my Lord, who then went to pare his Nails, and then this Informant

Note, what is here printed within these Crotchets [ ] was not in the Original, but added after it was deliver'd by the Coroner to the Secretary.

went out of the Room into the Passage by the Door, [on Friday the 13th Instant] and began to talk with the Warder; and a little while after he went down Stairs, and soon after came the Footman, with the Provisions, and brought also the Penknife, which this Informant put upon his Bed, and thought my Lord had no more need of it, because he thought he had pared his Nails, and then this Informant came  
 up



up to my Lord's Chamber, about Eight or Nine in the Forenoon [on Friday the 13th Instant] with a little Note from the Steward [where there were three Lines writ] but not finding his Lord in the Chamber, went to the Close stool Closet Door, and found it shut, and thinking his Lord was busy there, went down, and staid a little, and came up again, thinking his Lord had been come out of the Closet; and finding him not in the Chamber, he knock'd at the Door with his Finger thrice, and said, my Lord, but no Body answering, he took up the Hangings, and looking through the Chink, he saw Blood, and part of the Razor, whereupon he call'd the Warder, Russel, and went down to call for Help, and the said Russel push'd the Door open, and there they saw my Lord of Essex all along the Floor, without a Perruwig, and all full of Blood, and the Razor by him. And this Deponent farther deposeth, that the Razor now show'd to him, at the Time of his Examination, is the same Razor which he did bring to my Lord, and which did lie on the Ground in the Closet by my Lord.

The first of these two Sentences, which are included in the [ ] was interlined in another Hand; and the other was left out in the printed Information.

The Information of Thomas Russel, one of the Warders of the Tower, who had the Custody of the Earl of Essex, taken the 14th Day of July, Anno Regni Caroli Secundi, Dei Gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Trecesimo quinto, Annoq; Dom. 1683.

**S** AITH, That on Friday the 13th Instant, about Eight or Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon, he was present when he did hear the Lord of Essex  
E call

*call to his Man, Mr. Bomeny, for a Penknife to pare his Nails, and then for a Razor, which Mr. Bomeny brought him, and then my Lord walk'd up and down the Room, scraping his Nails with a Razor, and shut the outward Door. Mr. Bomeny half a quarter of an Hour afterwards, not finding my Lord in his Bed Chamber, went down Stairs again, believing my Lord was private in his Closet: Bomeny came up again about a quarter of an Hour afterwards, and knock'd at the Door, then call'd, my Lord, but he not answering, peep'd through a chink of the Door, and did see the Earl of Essex lying on the Ground in the Closet, whereupon he cry'd out, That my Lord was fallen down sick, and then this Informant went to the Closet Door and open'd it, the Key being on the outside, and then did see my Lord lye on the Ground in his Blood, and his Throat cut.*

*The Information of Robert Sherwood, in Fanchurch-street, Chirurgion, taken the 14th Day of July, Anno Regni Caroli Secundi, Dei Gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Tricesimo quinto, Annoq; Dom. 1683.*

*SAITH, That he hath viewed the Throat of the Earl of Essex, and doth find that there is a large Wound, and that the Aspera Arterias, or Wind-pipe, and the Gullet, with the jugular Arteres, are all divided, of which Wound he certainly dy'd.*

The



The Information of *Robert Andrews*, of *Crutched-Fryers, Chyrurgion*, taken upon Oath the 14th Day of *July*, Anno Regni *Caroli Secundi*, nunc Regis, *Angliæ*, &c. Tricesimo quinto, Annoq; Dom. 1683.

**S**AITH, *That he viewed the Throat of the Lord of Essex, and doth find that it was cut from the one Jugular to the other, and through the Wind-pipe and Gullet, into the vertebres of the Neck, both jugular Veins being also quite divided.*

The Substance of these Informations, in short, is this, viz.

*That the Earl of Essex call'd for a Penknife to pare his Nails, but the Penknife not being ready at Hand, his Lordship desir'd a Razor, which was deliver'd to him, with which Razor his Lordship retir'd into his Closet, and lock'd himself in; but soon after the Closet Door was open'd, and that Lord there found with his Throat cut, through the Gullet, and both Jugulars and Arteries, to the very Neck Bone, and the Razor (as before delivered) lying by him.*

These Informations thus publish'd by Authority, upon *Monday* next after my Lord's Death, I carried to *Wanstead*, six Miles from *London*, and there read them to one *Mr. Evans*, then an Head-Searcher at the *Custom-House*, and there-upon *Mr. Evans* told me that they had sworn

*false* in relation to the Razor's being found by the Body, in the Closet, when my Lord was (as pretended) first found dead, for, said he, a bloody Razor was thrown out of my Lord's Chamber Window, before it was known to any out of the House that my Lord was dead, which Razor one *William Edwards* a Boy about thirteen Years of Age, endeavour'd to take up, but a Maid came out of *Hawley's* House, where my Lord lay, and took up the Razor and ran up Stairs with it, and immediately cry'd out very loud, Murder! Murder! and THIS was the *first Time*, and the *first Occasion* of my Lord's Death being known to any out of the House. Upon hearing this Relation, I declared, if this Account of the Boy was *true*, what was sworn before the Coroner was *false*, and THEN my Lord was murder'd: For,

*No Man ever swore a LIE, if a TRUTH would serve his Turn.* And,

*No Truth needs a Lye to support its Credit.* And, *Whosoever swares a Lye, doth it to CONCEAL a Truth.*

And I then declared that I would enquire into that Matter, and therefore I then desired the said *Mr. Evans* to inform me where that young *Edwards* liv'd. *Mr. Evans* told me he liv'd in *Mark-Lane*, by the *Tower*, and that his Father was there well known, having been many Years a *Custom-House Officer*.

When I came to Town that *Monday*, about 3 in the Afternoon, I did inform some Friends of what I had, as before, heard, relating to my Lord's Death, and I then declared that I would  
endea-



endeavour to discourse that Boy, and his Parents, relating to that Matter. But all my Friends, thus by me inform'd, then dissuaded me from farther meddling in, or discoursing either the Boy or his Parents in that Affair; for, said my Friends, the *King* and *Duke of York* went to the *Tower* before 6 that very Morning my Lord dy'd, and therefore if my Lord was murdered, *those Persons*, and *that Interest*, which were therein concern'd, were *too powerful* for me to engage with, and I must expect nothing but Ruin, in my Fortune at least, if not Murdered in my Person: To all which Dissuasives I generally then answered to this Effect, (*viz.*)

That I was not ignorant of the great Danger which attended me in making such Enquiry, but if no Man did stir in that Inquisition, and that Noble Lord's Death was universally believ'd to be procur'd by himself, then the probable Consequence of such an universal Belief of the (pretended) Self-Murder might occasion the murdering many more Noble Lords, and other worthy Patriots, whom they then had, or should take into Custody: For it was but to place over such (intended *Victims*) perfidious Warders, as would Perjure themselves, and consent to permit such Murders; and then those in great Power, for great Rewards, and promis'd Protection from Justice, might procure bloody Bravoes enough, under such great Encouragements, as would murder our best Patriots in such a Manner, as their Employers and Instructors should think most proper for imposing upon the World the Belief of Self-Murder; in order to which those prepar'd and treacherous

treacherous Warders (their immediate Attendants) should be pre-instructed to Sware, before the Coroner and Jury, whatsoever their Tutors should think the most probable to make those Juries, to find such Prisoners *Feloes de se*. And by the repeating such treacherous and cruel Practices, some of our best Patriots might be Murder'd. But if those *powerful* and *bloody* Enemies to our *Church* and *State*, found themselves *Expos'd*, for this Instance of their *Treachery* and *Cruelty*, they probably might be *thereby* discouraged from *repeating* the *like Barbarity* upon other *Great Patriots*. And therefore I would *cheerfully Expose* my self to the *greatest Dangers*, for those three following Great and Good Purposes, (*viz.*)

*First* For the *Exposing* (tho' not otherwise *Punishing*) that MIGHTY MAN, who was the principal Author of this Murder. And,  
*Secondly*, THEREBY *clearing* the *Name* and *Family*, of this Noble Lord from an *infamous* Imputation of *Self-Murder*. And,  
*Lastly*, For the *preserving* many more of our *Greatest Pillars* (under God) to both *Church* and *State*, from such complicated Cruelties, as *destroy'd* their Persons, *blasted* their Memories, *cast* a Reflection on their Families, and forfeited all their Personal Estates.

Being thus resolved to make Enquiry into this Matter, I went that very *Monday* to Sir *Henry Capel* (afterwards Lord *Capel*, and Brother to the Earl of *Effex*) whom I found at my Lord's House, in *St. James's-Square*; I then inform'd Sir *Henry*  
of



of what I had heard, concerning the throwing out of the bloody Razor out of my Lord's Chamber Window, before the Death of my Lord was known to any, *out of the House*, where he dy'd, and that the Maid, who carry'd the Razor into the House, ran up to my Lord's Chamber, *and then cry'd out*, Murder! Murder! And *thereby* first discover'd my Lord's Death to those out of the House. I then told Sir *Henry Capel*, that if this Relation of the Boy was *true*, what was sworn by *Bomeny* and the Warder before the Coroner (as to the Razors being found lock'd into the Closet with my Lords Body) was FALSE; and if my Lord's *Servant* and *Warder* had sworn false to prove the (pretended) Self-Murder, it was to *conceal* some Truths, which (if discover'd) would have prov'd his Lordship's being murder'd by others, For,

*No Man will swear a Lye when a Truth will serve his Turn, And,*

*No Man swears a Lye, but to conceal a Truth.*

*For no Truth needs a Lye to support its Credit.*

I then inform'd Sir *Henry* that I my self had not spoken with that Boy or his Father, but that I would readily go, with any Person, whom Sir *Henry* should order to go with me, to discourse both that Boy, and his Parents, upon the Relation aforesaid. Sir *Henry* (after some farther Discourse) was pleased to say, that

*The then Enquiry into that Matter was too big for him to be concerned therein.*

Whereunto I reply'd, that

*Nothing was too big for the Truth.*

And

And that I my self (under all Hazards) would go and discourse both that Boy and his Parents, and if I found they would sware what was so reported, I would then apply my self to some Magistrate, to take their Informations.

Accordingly that very next *Tuesday* Morning after my Lord's Death, I went to Mr. *Edwards's* House in *Mark-Lane*, to whom I soon told the occasion of that Visit, and desir'd Mr. *Edwards* and his Family to give a very true Relation of what the Son had reported, that *Friday* Morning, relating to his seeing a bloody Razor thrown out of my Lord of *Essex* Chamber Window, before my Lord's Death was known to any out of the House where my Lord dy'd.

Thereupon the old Mr. *Edwards* wept, and said that he should be ruin'd by that Report. But I reply'd, that my Lord's Father had suffered Death, for his Zeal in his Majesty's Service, and that his Son (the Earl himself) had been Employ'd in great Posts of *Honour* and *Trust*. And therefore if my Lord was Murder'd by others, none, (in probability) would be so Zealous for a Discovery of that Murder, as the King himself, from whom Mr. *Edwards* might hope for Protection, from all other Powers. After some farther Discourse to that effect, Mr. *Edwards*, his Wife and Daughter, gave me a full Account of what the Son reported, as soon as he returned from the Tower, the Morning of my Lord's Death: But that Family, then informed me, that the Boy himself was then at School, from whence he would return about 11 o'Clock; whereupon, I told the Parents that I would be at  
their



their House that Afternoon about 2 a-Clock, and I did then desire these Parents that the Boy might be kept at Home, so that I might have an Opportunity to discourse the Boy himself. Accordingly that Afternoon I went again to that House. As soon as I came, the Mother and Daughters inform'd me, that the Boy had deny'd his having seen that bloody Razor thrown out of my Lord's Chamber Window. I then enquir'd whether the Boy had deny'd it, before I had been there; and the Mother and Sisters all declared that the Boy did not deny it, until one of his Sisters (in a threat'ning manner) told him, *that he would be hang'd*, for what he had, as before, reported, relating to the bloody Razor's being thrown out of my Lord of *Effex's* Chamber Window, and that his Father would be turn'd out of his Place in the *Custom-House*, and that all his Family would be thereby ruin'd. But I then desir'd that the Boy might be call'd into that Room, where I then was with the Mother, Sisters, and some other Friends and Relations; and I then and there discours'd the Boy concerning the Nature and Sinfulness of *Lying*, and particularly in relation to his *Lying* in the Matter then in Question, and I then told the Boy (then about 13) that if my Lord was murder'd, and he knew any thing relating thereunto, which might tend to the discovering that Murder, if he did not reveal it (in order to the punishing those Murderers) he became (in effect) a protector or skreen to those Murderers, and thereby highly Criminal before both God and Man. I then ask'd the Boy, whether he did remember he had read in the *Acts of*

*the Apostles*, that *Ananias* and *Saphira* (Husband and Wife) were struck dead for telling of a Lye.

The Boy told me he remembred that Passage. I then told him, that God was still the same Lover of Truth, and now hated Lyes as much as he did then, and could, for Lying, inflict the same sudden Death upon him, if, in a Case of this Consequence, he told a Lye. I therefore charg'd him to speak the very Truth in relation to what he had, as before reported; and if that Report was a Lye, he should then deny it, and never more report the same; but if it was true, he should neither be afraid or ashamed to speak the Truth: The Boy then confes'd that what he had reported concerning the bloody Razor was true, and that his Sister by great threat'nings, as before related, had frighted him into a denial, but he would ever after confess what he had as beefore reported. And one of his Sisters did then confess that by her threats she made him deny what (as beefore) he had reported.

The next Day I drew up, in the form of an Information, what the Boy and his Mother could swear relating to the Premises; and what I writ, relating to the Premises, herein follows.

The Information of *William Edwards*, second Son to *Thomas Edwards*, of the Parish of *Allbollows Barking, London*, taken the 18th Day of *July*, in the 35th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Charles* the 2<sup>d</sup>.  
Anuoq; Dom. 1683.

**S** A I T H, That the Informant on Friday the 13th of this Instant July, as he was going to School with his Brother *Edward*, he heard that his Majesty



*Majesty and his Royal Highness, the Duke of York, were going to the Tower, whereupon this Informant left his Brother, and went to the Tower to see his Majesty and his Royal Highness; and when this Informant had seen his Majesty and his Royal Highness, this Informant about 9 of the Clock in the Morning, the same Day, went to see my Lord Brandon Gerrard's Lodgings, and as this Informant was standing almost over against my Lord Brandon Gerrard's Lodgings, between the Lord Gerrards, and the late Lord of Essex's Lodgings, this Informant saw an Hand cast out a bloody Razor out of the said Earl of Essex's Lodgings; and this Informant was going to take up the said Razor, which he saw on the Ground to be bloody, but before this Informant came to the Razor, there came a Maid running out of Captain Hawley's House, where the said Lord Essex lodg'd, and took up the said Razor, which she carry'd into the said Captain Hawley's House: And this Informant believes, that it was the said Maid, whom he first heard cry out Murder! And this Informant further saith, that he heard the same Maid say, to some which were about the Door, after the Murder was (as above) cry'd out, that she did hear the Lord of Essex groan three Times that Morning.*

*The Information of Mrs. Edwards, Wife to Thomas Edwards, &c.*

**S**AITH, That about 10 of the Clock in the Morning, on Friday the 13th of this Instant July, this Informant's youngest Son, William Edwards, aged about 13 Years, came trembling to

*this Informant, and in great Amazement and Horror, told this Informant, that the Earl of Essex had cut his Throat in the Tower; and farther said, that he the said William Edwards, in the Morning about 9 of the Clock, did see an Hand cast a Razor out of the said Lord of Essex's Lodging Window, which Razor he saw on the Ground to be bloody, and the said William Edwards was going to take up the said Razor, but before he came to it, there came a Maid running out of Captain Hawley's House, where the said Earl of Essex lodg'd, and took up the Razor, which she, the said Maid, forthwith carried into the said Captain Hawley's House, and soon after he the said William Edwards heard her, as he the said William Edwards did believe, cry out Murder! And this Informant farther saith, that the Substance of what the said William hath sworn in his Information, he the said William Edwards, on Friday last did declare to this Informant, and her whole Family, several Times attesting it to be True, and several Times since.*

*This the Boy declared he was ready to attest, but finding several Justices of the Peace unwilling to take any Informations therein; I thought it proper to carry these Informations to the then Earl of Sunderland, then Secretary of State. --- And accordingly, upon Thursday the 18th of July, about Four of the Clock, I delivered these Informations of the Boy and his Mother, to whom the Boy had discover'd it, as soon as he came from the Tower. My Lord Sunderland seemed much surpris'd, and after some pause, told me, That I should bring the Persons (who were not then*



then with me) the next Morning, and *if it were proper, he would take their Depositions.*---The next Morning, about Nine or Ten of the Clock, I went with the Boy and his Sister, (the Mother not being well) to whom the Boy had likewise, as soon as he came from the *Tower*, revealed what he had (as before seen. As soon as I came to the Secretaries Office, I sent his Lordship word, that according to his Lordship's Order, I did attend. Immediately upon which (before my self, or either of the Informants were examined) Mr. *Atterbury* the Messenger came to the Office, and took me into Custody; the only instance where such as came to give

*Note* Information on the behalf of the King, were so treated before any Accusation against them) and some short time after, thus in Custody, I was called in before the then King and Council.

The first Question, (by his then Majesty) asked, was, What made me engage in that matter? To which I answered, That, *I was altogether unrelated to, and unacquainted with that Honourable Family*; so that there lay no more personal Obligation upon me first to move, than upon any Man whatever, who might have met with the like Information; but it was my love to Truth and Justice first engaged me in it; and through the Grace of God, my Duty therein I would do, tho' Death stared me in the Face every step I made.

I can't but here observe the Carriage of the then Duke of *York*, who with a concerned Countenance, leaning his Elbow upon the Board, covered

covered his Face with his Hand, upon which I did immediately imagine, that somewhat within did more trouble him, than all the trouble from without did me; for tho' I stood as a supposed Criminal, I had Reason to guess---*somebody else was the real one*. I did then observe to His Majesty the incoherence and Contradictions sworn before the Coroner by *Bomeny* and *Russel*, who were the Persons that pretended to prove the Self-murder before the Coroner; upon which his Highness called for those Informations, but said nothing in answer: His Majesty then took them, and said as little; but the then Lord Keeper *North* having read them, went about to reconcile those Incoherences and Contradictions; upon which I did object against what his Lordship said, as insufficient, and further urged the Objections I had before made. His Lordship seemed very angry that I made those Reflections; but, with submission, I think, by printing the Coroner's Depositions, every Man was in some sort appealed to, whether what was so sworn, and printed, was not sufficient to induce every impartial Person (for such the Coroner and Jury ought to have been) that the Earl of *Essex* did indeed cut his own Throat; and the printing those great Incoherences, and contradictory Depositions, argued as great impolicy in the Authority that published them, as the deposing them did villany in the Informants, or the believing them want of Understanding (not to say Honesty, integrity and impartiality) in the Coroner, and most of the Jury. After some time spent in the Examination, I was ordered to withdraw  
into



into the Secretary's Office, and repeated Orders given by the then King, that I should be kept close (perhaps that I might not hear the Boy, or his Sister examined) the Boy was then called in, and at first (as I was afterwards informed) did not deny the truth of his Information; but being not then past Thirteen, and frightened by being before so great Authority, he wept; upon which his then Majesty stroked him upon the Head, and said, *did not you invent this to excuse your truenting?* To which the Boy trembling, answered, *yes* (this the Boy declared at home after his Examination). Then the Sister was called, who declared how the Boy, upon his first coming from the *Tower*, had inform'd her as before set forth, and tho' after threatned to be whipt, never retracted till *Tuesday*, when I having been there, his Sister had frightened him into a denial, which as soon as I came the second time, he retracted, and stood to his first Information, saying his Sister had frightened him, and told him he should be hanged and his Father would be Undone; the fear of which made him deny it: She further declared, that She did verily believe they never knew or heard of me till the *Tuesday* after my Lord's Death, and that I never did give, or offer her Brother one Farthing, but still enjoined him to speak nothing but the Truth, (this the Sister did after declare was the substance of her Examination.) After the Sister's Examination was over. I was the second time called for, and told by my Lord Keeper, that I would have suborned the Boy; to which I answered, that I was well satisfied of  
my

my Innocency in, and abhorrence of all such Practices, which in this Case appeared impossible, seeing the Relation of the Boy was several Days before I ever saw or heard of the Boy; nevertheless I was ready to give what Bail his Lordship should be pleas'd to Command; upon which I was ordered to give Bonds with Two Securities in Two thousand Pound a-piece; this I did that very Afternoon; but the omission of the Under-Secretary, in the form of these Bonds, was very advantageous to me and my Security; for whereas the Condition of all Council-bonds were to conclude, *and in the mean time to be of the good Behaviour*; this Clause in mine was left out, by which my Friends were saved from that, which otherwise would (as you will afterwards find) have ruined them. Standing thus under Two thousand Pound to answer to an Information of Subornation, I thought I was in Self-justice bound to make what further inquiry I could, to strengthen the Boy's Evidence. To which my Lord Keeper (without the least colour) suggested, I did endeavour to suborn the Boy to Swear. In this inquiry I was daily hurried up and down. and found most People afraid to Discover what they knew relating to my Lord's Death. In a constant search after many particulars relating to this Matter, (all which would be too tedious to repeat) I was likewise informed of a Girl that had also seen the bloody Razor, as before, thrown out of my Lord's Chamber-Window; upon which I went to St. Katherine's, where the Girl lived, and several Persons being present, I took in writing  
what



what she could say herein, and what her Aunt and one Mr. Glasbrook, to whom she related it as she came from the Tower, could testify; which Relation was as followeth.

*August the 8th, 1683. The Information of Jane Loadman, aged about 13 Years, who did in the presence of these whose Names are here under-written, declare as followeth.*

*THAT the said Jane Loadman was in the Tower on Friday Morning, the 13th of July last, and standing almost over against the late Earl of Essex's Lodging Window, she saw a hand cast a Razor out of my Lords Window, and immediately upon that she heard sbreeks; and that there was a Soldier by my Lord's Door which cried out to those within the House, that some body should come and take up a Razor which was thrown out of the Window; whereupon there came a Maid with a White-hood out of the House but who took up the Razor, she cannot tell.*

*Witness* { John Broom, and  
William Smith.

*August the 8th, 1683. Mr. William Glasebrooke doth declare,*

*THAT one Jane Loadman, Aged about 13 Years, inhabiting in the same House where be the said William Glasebrook lodged, did on Friday the 13th of July last past, between the hours of Ten and Eleven in the Morning, in the*  
G *presence*

presence and hearing of him the said William Glasebrook, declare to her Aunt, that the Earl of Essex had cut his Throat; upon which her Aunt was very angry with her; whereupon she the said Girl did declare, that she was sure of it. For she saw him throw the Razor out of the Window, and that the Razor was bloody, and that she heard two groans, or shrieks (which of the two Words she used, he the said William Glasebrook is not certain). Of this he the said Glasebrook is ready to make Oath.

Witness. William Glasebrook.  
Loadman's Aunt, Margaret Smith.

About this time I was informed, That the Report of the Earl of *Essex's* Death was at *Tunbridge* about Nine of the Clock that very Morning he died, when as my Lord's Death was not known in the *Tower* till about Nine; whereupon I rid to *Tunbridge*, but I found the Person very shy, and unwilling to appear in the Matter. I had no sooner returned to *London*, but I was told, the same Report was at *Marlborough* in *Wiltshire* (about 70 Miles from *London*) the very Morning of the Earl's Death; whereupon I rid to *Marlborough*, resolving to trace the Report as near as I could to the Author. When I came to *Marlborough*, I met with one *Jeremiah Burgis*, whom before this I never to my remembrance saw or heard of; who declared, That the very Morning my Lord died, he was at *Froome* in *Somersetshire* (about 30 Miles from *Marlborough* and an hundred Miles from *London*) and being there at the *Dolphin*, he was informed



informed that the Earl of *Essex* had cut his Throat in the *Tower*. I did desire *Burgis* to write a Letter to the Master of the House at *Froome*, to inform me (if he could remember) who it was that reported this at his House. I did at *Marlborough* likewise speak with one *Lewis*, who did also inform me, " That about " Two of the Clock the Day the Earl died, as " he was riding up *Husbands-Hill*, (about " Fifty Miles from *London*) he " overtook a " Gentleman, riding a very easie Traveller's " pace; and as they were discoursing of the " News in the Country, the Gentleman said, " He had heard a report of the Earl of *Essex*, " that he had cut his Throat in the *Tower*: But " the Gentleman was altogether a Stranger to " him, and therefore he could not inform me " how or where to find him. With *Burgis* his Letter I was riding to *Froom*: But when I came within six Miles of the Place, at a Town called *Bradford*, I stopt at an Inn-door to drink a Glas of Cyder; upon which, one *Beach* an Attorney, (notorious in his Country and Generation) informed a Justice of Peace then there, That I looked like a disaffected Person, by wearing Band and Cuffs, and therefore in that dangerous Time I ought to be examined, upon which, the Justice came out to examine me, and there came with him one who knew me, so that the Justice seemed well satisfied: But *Beach* taking the Justice aside, tells him, That he ought to be more strict, and search me; for by my wearing Band and Cuffs, it was plain I was disaffected to the Government, (of this I have been of-

ten told by some then there); upon which the Justice told me, He must search me. When I perceived this, I thought it proper to give the Justice a particular Account of the Occasion of my being in the Country; as also, what Papers I had about me, which Papers being read, after some Debate, and advising with the said *Beach*, he made a Warrant for my Commitment, the Form whereof, in the Conclusion, was the most Illegal I ever saw.

The Warrant ran in these Words, *viz.*

Wilts ff. *TO the Keeper of His Majesties Goal of Fisherton-Anger in this County, or his sufficient Deputy, These. I send you herewithal the Body of Lawrence Bradon, apprehended in the Town of Bradford in the County aforesaid, this present Two and twentieth day of August, taken upon Suspicion of being a dangerous and ill-affected Person to the Government, and for refusing to give an account of his business in these Parts, and for having Letters of dangerous Consequence about him. These are therefore in the King's Majesty's Name to Will and Require you, That upon sight hereof, you receive him the said Lawrence Bradon into your Goal, and him there safely keep, (not permitting him to have Pen, Ink, or Paper, or Person to converse or speak with him) until you shall receive further Orders from His Majesty and Privy Council. Hereof you are not to fail at your peril. Given under my Hand and Seal at Bradford, this 22d day of August aforesaid, Anno Regni Caroli Secundi, Angl. &c. 35. Anno Dom. 1683.*

It



It was long before I could prevail with the Justice to let me hear my Warrent read: but when

I told him by the Statute I would have  
 31 *Car. 2.* a Copy of it within six hours after I was brought to Goal, he read it to me; finding the Conclusion to be so Arbitrary, I told him he could not justify his Warrant; which should the Jaylor obey, I might be kept a close Prisoner during Life. For I was not to be admitted to Pen, Ink or Paper, or Converse, till the Jaylor heard from the King and Council, without which I must perish in Prison without Conviction or Tryal: I told him, That all such Warrants of Commitment ought to conclude, *till he be discharged by due course of Law*; but the Justice told me he would maintain the Legality of his Warrant, I was hereupon carried to Goal (about 30 Miles distant from *Bradford*) where I found the Keeper of more Sense or Honesty than either his Worship, or his Cabal; for there were several Attorneys in the Inn when I was examined; (with whom Mr. Justice advised) for the Goaler told me, that notwithstanding the strictness of my Commitment, I should Discourse with whom I would himself being by, and write to whom I would whilst he was present, and saw it. Thanking my Keeper for this Civility, I did immediately demand a Copy of my Commitment, and writ to *London* for my *Habeas Corpus* thereupon, which within some short time I received, and was brought to *London* to be bailed; but all the Judges being out of Town, I was, according as the Statute herein directs, to be carried before my Lord Keeper (*North*);  
 but

but his Lordship ordered the Goaler to bring me before him at the Council that Afternoon; as soon as I appeared before his Lordship, my Lord seemed well pleased, at a supposed, but mistaken advantage he thought to have had against my Bail; for his Lordship smiling, told me, notwithstanding he did not expect that I should have had much regard to my self, yet he did believe I would have had that just respect to my Bail, as not to ruin them by those new matters then to be laid to my Charge. To which I answered, I knew not wherein I had prejudiced my Bail, of whom the only Thing required was my appearance the then next Term, which (if God permit) I would do, and thereby indemnify them: No, replied his Lordship (smiling) the good behaviour was likewise required; A notorious breach whereof appears in these Matters you stand afresh charged with. I did humbly appeal to the Bond it self, and in it's Condition no good Behaviour was required. For which omission his Lordship was angry with Secretary *Jenkins*, who transferred the blame thereof to his under-Secretary. When his Lordship found, that by this neglect my Bail was slipt from his Hands, his Lordship was resolved to hold me fast enough; and therefore demanded Bonds, with Sureties, in Twelve thousand Pounds, for my Appearance, and as much more Security for the good Behaviour. I did hereupon desire his Lordship, that he would consider the Statute upon which I then came to be Bailed; and as that Statute required, his Lordship would consider my Quality, and the nature of my Offence:

As



As for the first, I was a younger Brother, and my Father living; and as to the second, the pretended Crime, it was of the very same nature with that under which I stood bound with Sureties in Two thousand Pound for my Appearance. My Lord Keeper reply'd, That according to the Statute, he did consider both my *Condition* and the *Offence*, and regulated his Demands accordingly; for had I been Alderman of *London*, my Quality answerable to the Crime, for every Six thousand Pound his Lordship would have demanded Twenty; so that then I must have given Eighty Thousand Pound Bonds in Bail and Suretyship; which (to the best of my remembrance) is twice as much as I ever yet heard demanded of any Nobleman in *England*, though under a Commitment of High-Treason. Whilst I was before the Council, I desired his Lordship, that some of those Witnesses might be sent for out of the Country where the Report was of the Earl's having cut his own Throat in the *Tower*, before his Lordship was dead. Upon which, one of the Lords of the Council (to the best of my remembrance, the then Marquess of *Hallifax*) said, *This is just as it was in the Case of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. But the Lord Keeper, I found, would not send for Witnesses to *prove* what his business was industriously and oppressively to *stifle*. Not being able to comply with these hard Terms, I was remanded to *Wiltshire-Goal*.

But now, instead of being sent back to *Wiltshire*, I was turned over to Mr. *Atterbury* the Messenger, where upwards of five Weeks, I lay at no less Charge than 4 *l.* and odd Money *per Week*

Week directly, besides other Collateral Expences; this being too great for my Fortune to comply with, I was advised to remove my self to the *Kings-Bench*. And the then next Term I was Bayl'd; whereupon I renewed my Inquiries after many particulars relating to my Lords Death, and I did then endeavour to get the Names of most of the Soldiers upon Duty in the *Tower*, that Day my Lord was Murthered, I was in a constant Inquiry after some of them; for I had reason by some Information I had received, to believe that not a few could speak, not only to the throwing out of the Bloody Razor, but the sending in the Ruffians to my Lord, and from whom those Villains were sent. But as I spoke with any of those Soldiers, I perceived them very shy, and denied to me, what they had before freely confessed to their intimate Acquaintance; and afterwards told their Friends, that the Morning after my Lords Death, their Captain in the *Tower*, commanded them under severe Threatnings not to discover what they had observ'd, in relation to the Death of the Earl of *Essex*.

Whilst I was Prisoner in the *Kings-Bench*, I (with the rest of the Kings Prisoners) was several times search'd; but having still notice some short time before such Search, I conveyed away such Papers, as being seized, might have tended to my Prejudice. But in such hurries, I lost a List of such Names that could have declared that which was not a little material to this Discovery.



In *Hillary* Term 83. Mr. *Speake* and my self were tried upon an Information ; the substance whereof was, ‘ That whereas *Arthur* late Earl of *Essex*, the 13th of *July* (being Prisoner in the *Tower* for High-Treason) himself feloniously, and as a Felon of himself, did Kill and Murther, and the Day after, was by the Coroners Inquest so found ; The said *Lawrence Braddon* and *Hugh Speake*, well knowing hereof, but contriving, and maliciously, the Government of our said Lord the King, of this Kingdom of *England* into hatred, disgrace and contempt, to bring, &c. did falsely, unlawfully, maliciously, and seditiously *Conspire*, and endeavour to make the King’s Subjects believe, that the Coroners Inquisition was unduly taken, and that the said *Arthur* Earl of *Essex*, by certain Persons unknown, *IN WHOSE CUSTODY HE WAS*, was killed and Murthered, in order to which they the said *Lawrence Braddon*, and *Hugh Speake*, did falsely, unlawfully and unjustly, maliciously, and seditiously *Conspire*, to procure certain false Witnesses to prove, that the said *Arthur* Earl of *Essex*, by the said Persons unknown, was killed and murthered. *Vide Tryal, p. 4.*

Observe, The Information doth not charge us, for endeavouring to *Suborn* false Witnesses ; because to prove that some Money, or other Consideration must have been prov’d to be offered, or promised ; which they being not able to prove, the Information saith we did *Conspire* to procure false Witnesses. And yet, because Subornation would represent the Matter most Odious ; in the

Week directly, besides other Collateral Expences ; this being too great for my Fortune to comply with, I was advis'd to remove my self to the *Kings-Bench*. And the then next Term I was Bayl'd ; whereupon I renewed my Inquiries after many particulars relating to my Lords Death, and I did then endeavour to get the Names of most of the Soldiers upon Duty in the *Tower*, that Day my Lord was Murthered, I was in a constant Inquiry after some of them ; for I had reason by some Information I had received, to believe that not a few could speak, not only to the throwing out of the Bloody Razor, but the sending in the Russians to my Lord, and from whom those Villains were sent. But as I spoke with any of those Soldiers, I perceived them very shy, and denied to me, what they had before freely confessed to their intimate Acquaintance ; and afterwards told their Friends, that the Morning after my Lords Death, their Captain in the *Tower*, commanded them under severe Threatnings not to discover what they had observ'd, in relation to the Death of the Earl of *Essex*.

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Title Page of the Tryal, it was expressed, *Upon an Information of High Misdemeanor, Subordination, and spreading False News.*

This Information charges Mr. *Speake* and my self with falsely, unlawfully, maliciously and seditiously *conspiring* to procure false Witnesses to prove, That (the Right Honourable (*Arthur*, late Earl of *Essex*, was killed and Murthered by Persons unknown, *in whose Custody he was*; but to destroy this conspired Charge of Mr. *Speake*, and my self, against *those in whose Custody my Lord was (at the time of his Death)* the then King's Council said, That they would give an Account of the Earl's Death, *how he murthered himself, and for that they had a CLOUD OF WITNESSES* (*Speake and Bradon's Trial*, pag. 30) But when this *Cloud* appeared, it consisted in Major *Hawley* (at whose House my Lord was Murthered) *Russel* the Warder who then kept the Chamber-door) *Bomeny* my Lord's Servant, (then attending on his Lordship) and *Lloyd* the Centinel (who kept the outward Door whilst my Lord was Murthered). Here are 'Three (*Monday* being the 4th) of *the Men in whose Custody my Lord was*, and consequently (according to the Information) the *very Men*, Mr. *Speake*, and my self, had conspired to charge with my Lord's Murther; *and these very Men, in whose Custody my Lord was*, were like a *Cloud of Witnesses* brought to prove, *that those Men, in whose Custody my Lord was, did not murther his Lordship, but that the Earl himself, feloniously, and as a Felon of himself, did kill and murther.*

How



How very ridiculous would it have looked should the then Court, or King's Council have thus spoke to those Three Witnesses, (*viz.*) Gentlemen, YOU (*being three of the Men in whose Custody my Lord was at the time of his death*) are designed to be charged by the Defendants Speake and Bradon, with the murther of my Lord; but WE have thought it convenient and JUST by YOU to prove, that YOUR SELVES did not murther this unfortunate Lord, but that that Lord himself feloniously, as a Felon of himself, did kill and murther, as UPON ONLY SOME OF \* YOUR POSITIONS he hath been already found by the Coroner's Inquisition, Do YOU therefore upon Oath but purge YOUR SELVES, and lay this murther to my Lord's own door, and WE will inflict exemplary punishment upon these Defendants, whose Conspiracy tended to the charging YOU as Actors in it, or Privy thereunto.

\* Bomeny's and Russel's Information before the Coroner which are at large herein before Printed.

I do humbly conceive, that all this was virtually included in the Examination of those Witnesses, whose Oaths were not only admitted to *purge themselves*, but to render such as Criminals as should endeavour to charge them. Should the like be Practised in *protection* of all accused (I am well satisfied) no Man would turn Accuser.

If any shall say, THESE (*being the Men attending on my Lord at the time of his Death, and his Lordship then a close Prisoner*) are the Persons to be presumed privy to what was done

*BR* his Lordship just before his Death, and therefore *the Parties* which as to that could be Sworn.

I answer, As they were *THE MEN* which were to be presumed privy to what was done *BR* his Lordship just before his Death, because they were *the persons* whose Stations were so near his Lordship, for *this very reason* they were *THE PARTIES* which were likewise to be supposed privy to what was done *TO HIS LORDSHIP* just before his Death; and therefore admitting that his Lordship fell by Treachery and Violence, these very *MEN* must be presumed confutant thereof. Wherefore *these Mens* Testimony being in effect a *Self-discharge*, ought not here to have been admitted.

With all submission to that great Justice, Judgment and Policy, which drew and managed this Information against Mr. *Speake*, and myself, I think herein the Managers of this Prosecution extremely failed in their Proof; for Mr. *Speake*, and myself, being accused with falsely, &c. conspiring to change those in whose Custody my Lord was, with murdering my Lord; The Duty incumbent upon the then King's (or rather *DUKE's*) Council was to prove, That we, or one of us, did use indirect Means, by Bribes, Threats, or the like, to procure those False Witnesses; and this (or whatever else was brought to prove this Information) ought to have been deposed not by such as appeared in Court (in effect) with *Halters about their Necks to Swear for their OWN Lives*; being virtually told, *This do, and you shall live; but in the day ye fail thereof, ye shall surely die*: But this Information  
ought



ought to have been testified by Men who stood *recti in Curia*, which were neither themselves to be hanged for murdering my Lord, provided they would not (by consequence prove he did Murder himself; or to be not only saved, but well rewarded in Case they did (though contradictorily) confirm the same.

As for all those Witnesses which were produced against us, to prove any Bribes, or the like, I do suppose Prejudice it self will not pretend to say, that by the Trial (which none can believe Sir *George Jefferies* would order partially, in our favour, to be Printed) the least colour of proof, is given by any.

That Nation is happy whose Government answers the true end of Governours, (viz.) *To be terrors to Evil-doers, and a praise to those that do well*; but when once this end is inverted, and Justice (or rather that which a Corrupt Court falsely calls so) becomes a *S K R E E N* to Malefactors, and punishment inflicted on those who would punish them, then is that Kingdom in a much worse condition than it could be by the state of Nature. For Justice thus corrupted, would prove as fatal to the Body Polick, as the poisoning all Drugs, Simples, &c. would to the Body Natural.

This by the perversion of all Law and Justice would probably have proved our general Fate, had not God (in Mercy) by the Revolution, removed the Source hereof ----- But to return my Tryal, where I did expect all that the most inveterate and malicious Rage could utter, and therefore was not surpris'd with all that  
Fury,

Fury, and unjust Inveteracy, that appeared in *Jefferies* the then chief Justice.

In this Verdict I ONLY am found guilty; (could such a thing be possible of a *Conspiracy* to procure False Witnesses. ---- It was never before known that *one only* could commit a *Conspiracy*. For the notion of a Conspiracy I take to be *the combining together of two or more to do that which is ill*. Upon this Verdict Mr. *Speake* was fined 1000*l.* and because (the Court said) I was the greatest Criminal, my Fine was 2000*l.* and both ordered to give Security during Life.

7 But Mr. Attorney-General at the Trial was pleased to do me the Justice as to say, that *Speaks* Letter produc'd at the Tryal was ten times worse than what I had done.

Some Witnesses (at my Tryal Subpena'd) would have mentioned several Matters, relating to the then Duke of *York's* Guilt, in relation to this Murder; but I found it was a Truth *too GREAT*, which that Court would not hear, and therefore thought it not proper to call them, but left them till such a Season wherein *Truth* in this Matter should not be prosecuted as the highest *Offence*.

And this brings me to the Proofs that have in this Case been taken in 1688. and 1689. before the Secret Committee appointed by the House of Lords. But before I do begin with the Evidence it may not be amiss to give some short Account how this Case came before that Right Honourable House, where it was occasionally brought, upon the motion of the Right Honourable the Lord *Lucas*, then Governour of the *Tower*.

For



For the day before the Convention sate, (*viz*) the 21st of *February* 1688. having a Warrant against several as suspected privy to, or concerned in the Murther of this Honourable Patriot, and amongst the rest, against Major *Hawley*, at whose House my Lord was murdered, and *Russel* the Warder before-mentioned; both which belonged to the *Tower*: I desired a Friend of mine to acquaint the Honourable Governour therewith, so that these Persons might be secured. As soon as the Lord *Lucas* saw the Warrant against these two, he did order them both to be secured; and the next day there was several Depositions, with relation to my Lord's Murther, taken before Justice *Robins*, who that very day carried Copies of them to my Lord *Lucas*; upon which, his Lordship the very next day moved the House of Lords for their Lordships Directions as to the disposal of *Hawley* and *Russel*, and thereupon produced these Informations Mr. *Robins* had before brought him. Upon reading of these, the House entred into a debate of the Matter, and then called me before their Lordships, before whom I gave a short Account of what is as before most materially mentioned. After which, their Lordships constituted a more general Committee having several times met, there was a close Committee appointed; the Order for which followeth.

## The Order for the close Committee.

*Die Martis, 5. Februarii 1688-9.*

**L**ORDS Committees appointed by the House to be a Close Committee to examine and take Informations concerning the Death of the late Earl of Essex, and have power to send for and examine what Persons they please, and such Affidavits, as have been already made in this business, as also for what other they please, in order to give their Lordships further light therein, whose Lordships are to make Report thereof to the House.

E. Bedford.

E. Devonshire:

L. Visc. Mordant.

L. Delamere.

*Whose Lordships are to meet when, and where, and as often as they please.*

Before this Right Honourable Committee, there have been above Sixty Persons examined; of which most were examined upon Oath, and many of these several times before this Committee, which have sat above thirty times, and several times adjourn'd when other extraordinary Occasions hinder'd their Lordships from taking the Depositions of such as then attended to be examined. In May 1689. three of the four Lords of this Committee, (*viz.*) the Earl of Devon, the Lord Mordant, and the Lord Delamere



*Delamere*, being commanded by His Majesty into the Country to purge that part of the Army which had mutined in the North, the Earl of Devon (being Chairman of this Committee) the 22d of May 1689, brought such Depositions and Examinations, as in this Case had then been taken, into the House: But the House not having time that day to read them, it was deferred till the then next day. Upon the reading of them (it appearing, that the Earl of Devon, the Earl of Monmouth, and the Lord Delamere were as above absent, for the Earl of Devon, that very Morning went into the Country) their Lordships thought fit to suspend the full Examination of the Matter, till these three Lords returned. This appears by the Order following.

*Die Jovis, 23 Maii 1689.*

**A***FTER reading several Papers and Depositions relating to the Death of the late Earl of Essex, it is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Considerations of this business shall be suspended, untill the return of the Lord Steward, the Earl of Monmouth, and the Lord Delamere, who were of the Committee before whom they were made, and who are now in the Country in His Majesty's Service. And it is further Ordered, That the said Depositions and Papers shall be sealed up, and kept by the Clerk of the Parliament in the mean time.*

Joh. Browne

Cleric' Parliamentor

I

These

These Depositions lay sealed up with the Clerk of the Parliament, till the 26th day of *October*, when their Lordships, of the Secret Committee moved for reviving that Committee ; which the House revived by this Order.

*Die Sabbatis, 26 Octobris 1689.*

*Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Committee appointed, on the fifth day of February, to take Information concerning the Death of the late Earl of Essex, be, and is hereby revived, to continue and sit as before.*

Joh. Browne,  
Cleric' Parliamentor'.

Several other Persons were now examined before their Lordships, who having finished their Examinations, they began to reduce those Depositions and Examinations into such order, as to their Lordships should seem most meet, but this was not finished, before the 27th Day of *January*, when that Parliament was prorogued, and the 6th of *February* dissolved, and consequently all Proceedings hereupon stopt.

The Substance of what hath been deposed before the Honourable Lords of the Committee, and some Justices of the Peace, I shall, in as short an Abstract as I can well reduce it, here give you ; in which I shall observe, for the most part, as it falls out in order of time ; and *first*, what passed



passed before my Lord's Murther; *secondly*, the day of his Death, *Thirdly* after his Death.

As to the *first*, before my Lord's Murther; It is deposed by *Dorothy Smith* to this Effect:  
 " That about nine Days before my Lord's  
 " Death, being Servant with one *Holmes* in *Bald-*  
 " *wins-Gardens*, and standing upon the Kitchen-  
 " stairs, she heard several Papists discoursing (in  
 " the Parlour of the said Mr. *Holme's* House)  
 " concerning the taking off the Earl of *Essex*;  
 " and it was then and there declared, *That they*  
 " *had been with his Highness, and His High-*  
 " *ness was first for poysoning the said Earl; but that*  
 " *manner of Death being objected against, it was*  
 " *proposed to His Highness, That the Earl should*  
 " *be stabbed; but this manner likewise not being*  
 " *thought proper, His Highness had concluded and*  
 " *ordered his Throat to be cut, and His Highness*  
 " *had promised to be there, when it was to be done*  
 " About three days after this, (*viz.*) about six  
 " days before the Earl's Death, some of the  
 " aforesaid Persons met again, at her said Master's  
 " House, where she heard them declare to this  
 " Effect, *That they had resolved the Earl's*  
 " *Throat should be cut; but they would give it*  
 " *out, That he had done it himself; and if any*  
 " *should deny it, they would take them up, and*  
 " *punish them for it.* This Informant being here-  
 " upon much troubled in her Mind, and wil-  
 " ling to prevent (if possible) this intended Mis-  
 " chief, did hereupon advise with one Mr.  
 " *Billinger*, who told her : That if she va-  
 " lued her Life, she should not discover it to  
 " any; for the Papists then carrying all before  
 I 2 them,

“ them, she was ruined if she did. Wherefore  
 “ she did not, before my Lord’s Death (to her  
 “ remembrance) discover it to any other, unless  
 “ she might to Mrs. *Billinger*, in which she can’t  
 “ be positive: But the day of my Lord’s Death,  
 “ about Two or Three of the Clock the same  
 “ day, some of the aforelaid Consult coming  
 “ to her Master *Holm*’s House, one leap’d about  
 “ the Room, as extremely over-joy’d, and strikes  
 “ the said Mr. *Holmes* on the back, and cried,  
 “ *The Feat was done, or we have done the Feat;*  
 “ And further said, *He could not but laugh, to*  
 “ *think how like a Fool the Earl of Essex look’d*  
 “ *when they came to cut his Throat.* She further  
 saith, “ That about one Year after that, she  
 “ living with one Mr. *Rowden* she willing to  
 “ discover what she had, as before heard,  
 “ to her said Master *Rowden*, but he was not  
 “ free to hear all she could say, with relation  
 “ hereunto, but advised her to hold her peace;  
 “ for, by such her discourse, she might ruin Him  
 “ and all his Family. This is further confirmed  
 “ by the Oaths of Mr. *Rowden*, Mrs. *Rowden*,  
 and Mrs. *Mary Rowden*: And Mrs. *Rowden*  
 doth further depose to this Effect; (*viz.*) “ That  
 “ the said *Dorothy Smith*, in King *James* the Se-  
 “ conds Reign, hath declar’d, That she did hope  
 “ to live to see the day, wherein she might fully  
 “ testify her Knowledge herein; and this she  
 “ would do, when she might without danger.

Mr. *Adams* and his Wife have deposed to  
 this Effect: “ That November 1686, this Do-  
 “ rothy lived with them as their Servant; and  
 “ in



“ in Tears hath often declared her over hear-  
 “ ing the Papists consult of my Lord of *Essex*’s  
 “ Murther, several days before his Death, and  
 “ by whose Order the Earl was to be Murder-  
 “ ed: But these Informants knowing the danger  
 “ of such discourse (the late King *James* being  
 “ then in so great Power) did advise her, for  
 “ her own Safety, and the Safety of those she  
 “ lived with, not thus to discourse: But the said  
 “ *Dorothy*, in Tears did usually answer, That it  
 “ lay upon her mind, Night and Day; and she  
 “ could not be quiet in her thoughts, that the  
 “ Earl of *Essex* should be falsely charged with cut-  
 “ ting his own Throat, when she had heard the  
 “ Papists resolution to cut it themselves, and af-  
 “ ter own they *had* done it. And if ever she  
 “ might, with safety testify the Truth herein, she  
 “ would; and did hope those Men that did  
 “ it, might suffer for it.

*Richard May* deposeth to this Effect: “ That  
 “ (to the best of this Informant’s remem-  
 “ brance) before the Death of King *Charles* the  
 “ Second, observing *Dorothy Smith* to be very  
 “ melancholly, he desired to know the cause;  
 “ upon which she said, *That somewhat she knew*  
 “ *with relation to the Death of the late Earl of*  
 “ *Essex, was the cause of her trouble; and it was*  
 “ *not safe for her to reveal it to any.* Upon  
 “ which, this Informant advised her then to be  
 “ silent in the matter. But about the begin-  
 “ ning of *February*, after King *William*’s coming,  
 “ finding it safe for the said *Dorothy Smith* here-  
 “ in to declare her knowledge, this Informant  
 “ went to the said *Dorothy Smith*, and told her,  
 “ she

“ she might safely speak what she knew, as to  
 “ my Lord’s Death; upon which, the said *Dorothy Smith*  
 “ told this Informant, How she had  
 “ heard the Papists, several days before my Lord’s  
 “ Death, declare How the Earl’s Throat was to  
 “ be cut, and by Whom ordered, (with several  
 “ particulars in relation thereunto); upon which,  
 “ this Informant, discovered this to Mr. *William*  
 “ *Tornay*, who thereupon told this Informant, he  
 “ would reveal this to Mr. *Braddon*, then upon  
 “ the Prosecution of my Lord’s Murther; and  
 “ some short time after, Mr. *Tornay* told this In-  
 “ formant, That he had therewith acquainted  
 “ Mr. *Braddon*, and desired this Informant, with  
 “ the said *Dorothy Smith*, to meet the said Mr.  
 “ *Braddon*, and the said Mr. *Tornay*, such a  
 “ time, at the *Cross-Keys* in *Watling-street*, where  
 “ they met accordingly: But when Mr. *Braddon*  
 “ had been particularly informed herein, by the  
 “ said *Dorothy Smith*, the said Mr. *Braddon* de-  
 “ clared, That unless the said *Dorothy* could  
 “ make it appear, That she had long before re-  
 “ veal’d this, he would esteem it as a new-made  
 “ Story, and a Lye. Upon which, the said  
 “ *Dorothy* mentioned the Names of several, to  
 “ whom she declared she had long since revealed  
 “ it; but by all was enjoined to Secrecy.

Mr. *William Tourney* hath likewise deposed  
 what herein relates to him. And I am ready to  
 depose, That I never heard of this *Dorothy*  
*Smith*, till Mr. *Tourney* about February 1688.  
 informed me of her; and I never to my re-  
 membrance, saw the said *Dorothy Smith*, till  
 the



the said Mr. May, had (as before brought her to the *Cross-Keys*, in *Watling-street*,) where I first discours'd her. Here are five or six Witnesses prove the very Substance of this Evidence, revealed when it was little less than Death to discourse it, which clearly proves it is not a made Story, and strongly argues the truth of the Relation; for it can hardly be supposed; that this Woman, should often, under the greatest Concern and Danger imaginable, declare any thing of this nature, unless the Relation was really true; Because she could (rationally) then propose no Advantage by this Story; but was still told, and convinced of the Danger. Wherefore 'tis rational to suppose, that only the Power of Truth moved her to declare what she so often in Tears related. But as a further Argument of the Truth, of this Deposition, I shall briefly relate what Informations have been taken in Contradiction to this Relation, and how these Informations have been detected as false in every particular, which corroborates the Truth of the Accusation: *For as a true Defence detects and frustrates a false Charge; so a false Defence (being discovered to be such) as strongly strengthens a true one.* The Depositions, in opposition to *Smith's* Evidence, were,

*Dorothy Hewits* (a most violent Papist) who the 9th of April, 1689. before Mr. Justice *Dolben* deposed, " That in April before my Lord of *Effex's* Death, the said *Dorothy Smith* was turned away from Mr. *Holmes's*, upon Suspicion of having stol'n a Silver Spoon; and " that

“ that from *April* 1683. to nine Months next  
 “ after, one *Elizabeth Christopher*, then *Eliza-*  
 “ *beth Cadman*, was Servant to the said Mr.  
 “ *Holmes*, and no other Maid-servant in all that  
 “ mean time.

*Elizabeth Christophers* (of a very loose Character, who in this particular upon Oath, the 9th day of *April*, 1689. before Mr. Justice *Dolben*, confirms *Hewit's* Testimony ; but that these two are forsworn, appears by many Depositions. For,

It's proved by *Robert Bond*, that *Dorothy Smith* did not go to Mr. *Holmes's* Service, till the beginning of *June*, 1683. and that Green Beans were fit to be eat, before she left that Service, in which she lived, just before she went to *Holms's* House.

It's further proved, by five Witnesses, That *Dorothy Smith* was Servant at this *Holme's*, in 1683. when Green-pease were very plenty and cheap (which is naturally evident it must be in the latter end of *June*, or sometime in *July*, which is about two Months after *Hewit* swore *Dorothy Smith* was turned away ; and it's positively sworn by one, that *Dorothy Smith* was Servant in *Holms's* House, in *July* 1683. after the Death of the late Earl of *Essex* ; and this Informant remembers the time, by a very remarkable particular. So that here are five or six Depositions, in Contradiction to *Hewit's* and *Christopher's*



pher's Evidence, which was designed to destroy the Credit of *Dorothy Smith's* Testimony; but this Opposition thus detected, adds strength to what it was designed to prejudice. But it was further sworn by *Hewit*, that the 6th of *July*, 1683. (which was the *Friday* in the Week before my Lord's Death) she went with the said *Mr. Holmes* into the Country, and the first Night lay at *Wickham* in *Buckinghamshire*, the next Night at *Oxford*, and continued there till the 9th; and the 9th, this Informant went with the said *Mr. Holmes* to *Alderminster* in the County of *Worcester*, to the House of one *Mr. Nathaniel Swan*, Minister of the said Town, and continued there till the 23d of the said Month of *July*, and then returned, &c.

*Nathaniel Swan* Clerk, deposed before *Mr. Justice Dolben* the 9th of *April*, 1689. " That  
 " about the 9th of *July*, 1683. *Hewit* and *Holmes*  
 " came to his House in *Alderminster*, and conti-  
 " nued there till about the 23d.

This last Information is of little force (tho' the Parson designed well) for He swears, about such a time *Holmes* came to his House, and about makes the time very uncertain.

This was designed to destroy that part of *Dorothy Smith's* Testimony, which declares *Holmes* in Town, the day my Lord was murdered.

When I found *Mr. Holmes* endeavoured to prove (as before sworn by *Hewit*) himself out of Town, from the 6th of *July*, 1683. to the 26th or 27th of the same Month; I did endeavour to enquire out all such, as either *Mr. Holmes*, or *Mrs. Hewit* were well-known to, or traded

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 “ after, one *Elizabeth Christopher*, then *Eliza-*  
 “ *beth Cadman*, was Servant to the said Mr.  
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*Elizabeth Morris, Ann Duphine, Katherine Coldam, Sarah Douthwait, and Robert Bond.*



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This last Information is of little force (tho' the Parson designed well) for He swears, *about* such a time *Holmes* came to his House, and *about* makes the time very uncertain.

This was designed to destroy that part of *Dorothy Smith's* Testimony, which declares *Holmes* in Town, the day my Lord was murdered.

When I found Mr. *Holmes* endeavoured to prove (as before sworn by *Hewit*) himself out of Town, from the 6th of *July*, 1683. to the 26th or 27th of the same Month; I did endeavour to enquire out all such, as either Mr. *Holmes*, or Mrs. *Hewit* were well-known to, or traded

with; and therefore I made inquiry after those, with whom (in that Month and Year) they Bought of, or Sold to, all Shop-keepers, Taylors, Butchers, Fishmongers, Shoemakers, Hatters, &c. And I did also inquire after all such as they (as Jappaners) bought Goods of, or sold Goods to, and such, as upon inquiry, I received such Characters of, as I might expect fair Satisfaction from, I did desire to see their Books in that Month of *July*, to see whether any Goods were bought in Town by the said Mr. *Holmes*, or Mrs. *Hewit* (for proving *Hewit* in Town, proves *Holmes* likewise in Town, because it's sworn, and can be proved, they both went out of Town together) or any Money paid between the 6th and 26th of *July*, by either of these. After a very long and tedious Inquiry (all those Tradesmen being altogether strangers to me) I providentially met with one Mr. *Welfstead*, who very readily shewed his Book, wherein is entred according to his Information, which followeth:

*John Welfstead* of *St. Dunstons* in the *West*, *London* before the Secret Committee hath depos'd, " That in *July* 1683. he liv'd in *Poppins Alley*, nigh *Fleetstreet*, very near Mrs. *Dorothy Hewit*, and often wrought for the said " Mrs. *Hewit*; and between *Monday* the 9th of *July* " 1683. and *Monday* the 16th of the same Month " and Year, this Informant made, or caused to " be made a *Duff-gown* for the said Mrs. *Hewit*, " as appears by this Informants Book, to their " Lordships produced, and the very same Week, " (*viz.*) between *Monday* the 9th of *July*, 1683. " and *Monday* the 16th of the same Month and " Year,



“ Year, (but in the very day this Informant is  
 “ not certain); this Informant carried the said  
 “ Gown to the said Mrs. *Hewit*, who did then  
 “ pretend she was about going into the Country;  
 “ but how long after the Dust-gown so delive-  
 “ red, the said Mrs. *Hewit* did go into the Coun-  
 “ try, this Informant knoweth not.

This Book had not been of any use to Mr. *Welfstead* for almost five Years, and it was a ve-  
 ry great Providence this had not been torn out,  
 seeing the Book for some Years had been used as  
 wast Paper, and the very next leaf to this torn  
 out, and lost. As soon as Mrs. *Hewit* under-  
 stood such a Taylor's Entry was against her  
 Oath, she, with Mrs. *Holmes's* Wife, went to  
 this Taylor, and desired to see his Book; which  
 being shew'd *Hewit*; first pretended this entry  
 was forg'd, and new; but when in answer to that,  
 Mr. *Welfstead* declared he could depose, “ That  
 the Entry was real; it was then pretended, that  
 the Gown was sent into the Country after Mrs.  
*Hewit*; but when in answer to that, Mr. *Wel-  
 stead* declared he could depose, “ That Mrs.  
*Hewit* was in Town when that dust-gown was  
 made and delivered, and that she then pretend-  
 ed she was about going into the Country, Mrs.  
*Hewit* told him, if he did swear that, he would  
 take off her Brother's Life, and *Holmes's* Blood  
 would be upon his Head.

Some time after my Lord's Murther, this  
*Holmes* abusing his Wife, she told him, *He was  
 a murtherous Rogue, and he well knew she could  
 hang him when she pleas'd.* To which *Holmes*  
 answered, *That he little thought she would have*

*spoken of it, who of all the World had the least reason: For, said this scurrilous Fellow, You Bitch, You Whore, Don't you remember I bought you a good Sattin Gown and Petticoat, and therefore you above all the World ought not to prate. But she replied, He was a murtherous Rogue for all that.*

I have been the more large and particular in this Evidence, as well because it hath met with such villanous Opposition by false Oaths, as for that it alone proves by what Party, and by whose Order this Unfortunate Lord was treacherously murthered.

The next thing previous to my Lord's Murther, are the several Reports in many places in *England* (before my Lords Death, or before it could be known) that the Earl of *Essex* was dead. ----- This is proved by Eight Witnesses. *Mr. Hubland, Merch.*

It is as to this sworn, *Mrs. Hubland.*

" That at *Frome* (which *Mrs. Meux.*

" is about 100 Miles *Treherne.*

from ( *London* ) " it *Jeremiah Burgis.*

" was reported the very *Thomas Feilder.*

" next Morning after *----- Savage.*

" my Lord's Commitment to the *Tower* (*viz.*)

" the 11th of *July*, 1683. that the Earl of *Essex*

" had cut his Throat in the *Tower*: And this

Informant, the Week after my Lord's Death,

meeting the Gentleman which had before given

him this Information, and desiring to know how

before my Lords Death he could declare it; the

other replied, That all Men concluded my Lord

would either cut his Throat, or turn Evidence

against



against his Friend my Lord *Ruffel*; but it was generally believed that my Lord would rather destroy himself, than be made a Witness.

This Report so far off the very next Morning after my Lord's Commitment, proves the *Tower* to be the place (before my Lord's Commitment) pitched upon as the most proper for this perfidious Tragedy.

But the very next day (*viz.*) the *Wednesday* after my Lord's Commitment, was it reported about 60 Miles off, that the Earl of *Essex* had cut his Throat in the *Tower* for this Reason, (*viz.*) *The King and Duke coming into the Tower to view the Tower, the Earl of Essex was afraid the King would have come up into his Chamber, and seen him; but his Guilt and Shame was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of it, and therefore cut his Throat to avoid it.*

Observe in this previous Report sixty Miles from *London*, the next day after my Lord's Commitment, the very pretended Reason for the Self-murder is given; which Reason carries in it an accident that could never be before reported, or indeed expected, but by those which were the most secret in this Treacherous Cruelty; for herein is it said, the *Wednesday* before the King and Duke went to the *Tower*, that the King and Duke were in the *Tower* when the Earl cut his Throat, &c. It is notorious that the King and Duke did not go till *Friday* Morning, and their then going was a surprize to their very Guards, for it seems they had not been there together above once before that, since the Restoration. In short, These several Reports proved by Eight Witnesses,

Witnesses, all agree in the *manner how* and *place where*; and one more particularly sets forth the *pretended Reason wherefore*. I do therefore humbly submit to every impartial Reader, whether these very Reports do not strongly prove, *that the manner, place, and pretended reason to be given out in report*, were all agreed upon before this barbarous complicated Tragedy was acted. For otherwise, how could it possibly be so particularly related so far off, and so long before it was done?

But the reason of this Report, appears to have been occasion'd by what follows, (*viz.*)

The Lord *Russel* was ordered to be Try'd, upon Monday the Ninth of *July*, which was four Days before he was Try'd, and the Contrivers of this treacherous Cruelty against my Lord of *Effex*, had resolv'd, that upon the Day of that Tryal, *and whilst my Lord Russel was trying*, my Lord of *Effex* Throat should be cut, and then that report carried to the Court trying my Lord *Russel*, and to be then and there us'd as (it afterwards was) as an Argument of the Truth of the then (pretended) Plot, upon which my Lord *Russel* was trying. ---- Now some of the Popish Party, who were let into the Knowledge of the design'd Murder of my Lord of *Effex*, and that it was to be done, when my Lord *Russel* was trying, and knowing my Lord *Russel* was order'd to be Try'd, the Monday next before he was Try'd, and those Papists, who first reported my Lord of *Effex*'s Death, not knowing that the Lord *Russels* Tryal was put off, to the *Friday* then following. ---- Did therefore report  
my



my Lords of *Effex's* Death, two days before he was murdered. ---- And upon the Reversal of my Lord *Russels* Attainder, several of his Jury were examin'd before the Lords, and some of those very Jury-men, did then and there declare to their Lordships, that as the then Kings Council misapply'd the (pretended) self Murder of the Lord of *Effex*, in relation to that pretended Plot, by saying it was more than a thousand Witnesses of the Truth of that Treasonable Conspiracy, for which my Lord *Russel* was then trying ---- that this report, and the above misapplication thereof had a greater Influence upon them, he found my Lord *Russel* guilty, than all that was Sworn against him by the Kings Witnesses.

I shall in the 2d place observe what passed in the day of my Lord's Murther, which proves his Death to be such.

*Eomeney* and *Russel* before-mention'd, did before the Coroner's Jury upon Oath deny that any Men were let into my Lord that Morning my Lord died. The like did *John Lloyd*, the Soldier that kept the outward Door, depose at my Trial, pag. 57.

*Nathaniel Monday*, who was my Lord's other Warder, and likewise *Russel*, before the Lords have denied that any Men were that Morning let into my Lord. But that there were some Ruffians a little before my Lords Death let in to Murther him, plainly appears by the Proofs following.

Mr.

Mr. *Samuel Story* deposed before their Lordships to the effect following, (*viz.*) “ The 21st of *January*, 1688. being the day before the “ Convention sat, *John Lloyd* Centine upon “ the Earl of *Essex* at the time of his Death) “ was taken up as suspected privy to the said “ Earl’s Murther; and being therefore in custody the said *Lloyd*, with Tears in his Eyes, “ wrung this Informant by the Hand, and declared, That by special Order of Major *Hawley*, or one of my Lord’s Warders, he did let “ in two or three Men into the Earl’s Lodgings “ just before his Death, and he was very sure, “ and could safely Swear that Major *Webster* (then there in Custody, suspected as one “ of the Russians that murdered my Lord) “ was one; and that as soon as he so let them “ in, he heard a noise in my Lord’s Chamber, “ and somewhat thrown down like the fall of a “ Man; soon after which it was said, the Earl “ of *Essex* had cut his Throat.

This *Lloyd* (the same day) before the Justice did confess the letting in some Men a little before the Earl’s Death, as appears by his Examination following.

The Examination of *John Lloyd* of *Goodman’s Yard* in *Aldgate* Parish without, in *London*, Clothworker, taken before *John Robins*, Esq; one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*, the 22d day of *January*, 1689.

THIS Examinant saith, on the day wherein the Right Honourable the late Earl of *Essex*, was found dead upon the suspicion of having been  
murdered



*murthured in his Lodgings in the Tower of London ; he then being a Soldier, was standing Centinal at the Door of the said Earl's Lodgings, and had order to let no body up Stairs to the said Lodgings, without leave from Major Hawley, or the Warder then in waiting, on the said Earl; and that about half an hour after Eight of the Clock in the Morning of the said day, two Men (to this Examinant unknown) knocked at the Hatch-door belonging to the said Lodgings, and by permission of the said Warder, entred the said Lodgings ; but when they came out, he can give no account ; and that about Nine a Clock he heard a struggling on the said Morning, and a little time after heard a Crying, My Lord is dead.*

After *Lloyd* had lain some time close Prisoner in *Newgate*, he did desire to see one *Mr. Tempest*, a Neighbour of his, who having permission of the Secret Committee to discourse *Lloyd*, thereupon went to *Newgate*, where he found the said *Lloyd* very melancholly ; when *Mr. Tempest* first came, *Lloyd* told him, that he did hope, as he was his Neighbour, he would be his Friend, *and true to him* ; to which the other answered, that he would, if the said *Lloyd* was Ingenious in his discovery ; whereupon, the said *Lloyd* (after often pressing the said *Mr. Tempest* to be true to him) told him that when he was first seized, he did confesse to a Gentleman, who was altogether a stranger to him, the letting in some Men into my Lord of *Effex* just before his Death ; and this Confession did lie upon his Conscience, and troubled him Night and Day ; upon which the

L

said

saïd Mr. *Tempest* replyed, That the like he had confessed to severall the same day he was taken; and he declared the same before a Justice of Peace; but if it was false, he ought to retract it, and be sorry for having saïd it; whereupon the saïd *Lloyd* renewing his Request, that the saïd Mr. *Tempest* would be true to him, *saïd, it was indeed* very true, but it was what he *should not have confessed.*

*Lloyd* did then further declare, “ That upon  
“ the letting in those Men, there was so great a  
“ a bustle in my Lord’s Chamber, that the saïd  
“ *Lloyd* would have forced in after them, but  
“ the Warder had made fast the outward Door,  
“ so that he could not; and that upon the bustle  
“ he did hear somewhat thrown down like the  
“ fall of a Man, which he did suppose was my  
“ Lord’s Body; and soon after, it was cry’d out,  
“ that my Lord of *Essex* had cut his Throat.  
This is the substance of what Mr. *Tempest* hath  
deposed before the Lords.

By this it appears more than probable, not only that my Lord was Murthered, but that there was some villanous Oath of Secrecy entered into by those concern’d therein, not to discover what they knew with relation thereunto; for what other as likely reason can be assigned for *Lloyd*’s being troubled in Conscience (as he pretended) for having confessed, what at the same time, under repeated injunctions of secrecy, he confirm’d to be true, though he saïd he should not have confessed it?

But



But to put this Matter beyond all doubt, that some Men were buſſling with his Lordſhip juſt before his pretended Self-murder diſcover'd, evidently appears by this Information following.

*Martha Baſcomb* declar'd, and before the Lords in ſubſtance hath depoſ'd, " That a little  
 " before the Death of the late Earl of *Effex*  
 " was diſcovered, this Informant was walking  
 " up before the Earl's Chamber-window, and  
 " hearing a very great trampling and buſtle in  
 " my Lord's Chamber, this Informant ſtood  
 " ſtill, and looking to the Window of the ſaid  
 " Chamber, ſaw three or four Heads move cloſe  
 " together, and heard one in the Chamber (which  
 " ſeemed to be in this buſtle) cry out very loud,  
 " and very dolefully, *Murder, murder, murder* ;  
 " this Informant not then knowing it to be my  
 " Lord's Lodging, nor thinking any other of  
 " this Cry, than what might be occaſioned by  
 " ſome accidental quarrel, walked up towards  
 " the Chappel, but not out of ſight of the Lodg-  
 " ings, and about a quarter of an Hour after  
 " (or leſs) it was firſt cryed out in the Houſe,  
 " That the Earl of *Effex* had cut his Throat,  
 " and being ſhew'd the Chamber where the Earl  
 " lay, ſhe found that was the Chamber where ſhe  
 " ſaw the Men, and heard the buſtle, and Mur-  
 " der cryed out, as before related. This Infor-  
 " mant further ſaith, " That ſome few days af-  
 " ter this, telling Mr. *Perkins* and his Wife  
 " (whom ſhe then kept in her lying in) of what  
 " ſhe had ſeen and heard, as before declared ;  
 " the ſaid Mr. *Perkins* adviſed her not to ſpeak

“ of it, for her divulging it, in all probability  
 “ would prove her ruin.

Mr. *Perkins* hath upon Oath confirmed the latter part of *Martha Bascomb's* Information, which clearly proves this not a newly-invented Story.

I think this proof is little less than ocular Evidence of the Murther; for my Lord was a close Prisoner, to whom (as was pretended, and sworn, by such as kept the Chamber-door) none was admitted that Morning; but that my Lord cut his Throat in all silence; whereas it is here deposed, that several were bustling together in my Lord's Chamber before his Death; (and this part agrees with the Confession of the Centinel, who let in the Ruffians) and one in this bustle (which can be presumed to be no other than my Lord) cry'd out several times very loud, and very dolefully, *Murther, Murther, Murther.*

And as a farther Confirmation of these Men's being (and by whom), sent to Murther my Lord, *Elizabeth Gladwin* and *Sarah Hughes* declare, (and before the Lords in substance have deposed)  
 “ That the day of the Death of the late Earl  
 “ of *Effex*, (*viz.*) the 13th of *July*, 1683. a-  
 “ bout Eleven of the Clock the same day, one  
 “ *Ruddle*, in the hearing of these Informants,  
 “ did declare, That he was in the *Tower*  
 “ that Morning, where it was reported that  
 “ the Earl of *Effex* had cut his Throat, but  
 “ he was sure he was Murthred, and that by  
 “ the Order of his ROYAL HIGHNESS;  
 “ for the said *Ruddle* then declared, That  
 “ he did observe His Majesty and Royal High-  
 ness



“ nefs, part a little from those that attended  
 “ them, and discoursed (to the best of these In-  
 “ formants remembrance); The said *Ruddle* de-  
 “ clared it was in *French*, concerning the Priso-  
 “ ners then in the *Tower*, and his HIGHNESS  
 “ declar’d, That of all the Prisoners then there, the  
 “ Earl of *Essex* ought to be taken off; but His  
 “ Majesty said he was resolved to spare him for  
 “ what his Father had suffered; upon which his  
 “ HIGHNESS seemed very dissatisfied; and a  
 “ little before the Death of the said Earl, his  
 “ HIGHNESS parted a little way from His  
 “ Majesty, and then two Men were sent into  
 the Earl’s Lodgings to murder him. ---- So far  
 before their Lordships.

*Note*, This *Ruddle* then declared that he had  
 liv’d many Years in *France*, and very well un-  
 derstood *French*, and could speak *French* very  
 well.

The said *Ruddle* declared this with great Ear-  
 nestness and Passion, and protested he thought  
 no Man safe who was against the Popish Inte-  
 rest, if once they began thus bare-faced to cut  
 Throats. And he protested his Blood did so boil  
 against his Royal Highness, that if he could have  
 got a Party that would have stood by him, he  
 would have shot his Highness dead upon the  
 spot, for so bare-fac’d a Murder had scarce ever  
 been committed under a Civil Government.

*John Bampton* and his Wife both declare, and  
 in substance before the Lords have deposed,  
 “ That about one of the Clock, the very day  
 “ the

“ the late Earl of *Essex* died in the *Tower*, one  
 “ *Robert Meake* that Morning (a Soldier in the  
 “ *Tower*) came to these Informants House, and  
 “ these Informants desired the said *Meake* to  
 “ give them the best account he could how the  
 “ Earl of *Essex* cut his own Throat; to which  
 “ the said *Meake* (with some earnestness and  
 “ passion) answered, That the said Earl did not  
 “ cut his own Throat, but was barbarously  
 “ murdered by two Men, sent for that purpose  
 “ by his ROYAL HIGHNESS to the Earls  
 “ Lodgings just before his Death.

What *Robert Meake* did further declare, and  
 what was since his fate, you will hear in its  
 proper order.

I do expect it will be objected, That these  
 four are but hear-say Evidence. To which I  
 shall answer almost in the very Words of another  
 Discourse on this Subject, (*viz.*) Seeing there  
 is reason to believe that the stifling the first Mur-  
 ther occasioned the addition of these two Soldiers  
 Blood (as you will hereafter have some grounds to  
 suppose) I think such Informations ought not to be  
 slighted; for after that rate, it's but taking off  
 such as knew any thing with relation to Murther,  
 and you are very secure from any discovery, though  
 never so many upon Oath give an account of what  
 those Men (whose Mouths have been by Murther  
 stopt from giving their own relation) have declar-  
 ed in the Matter. These two Soldiers related  
 the same as to the sending the Men into my  
 Lord's Lodgings in two Houses, as far distant, as  
 Dukes-place and Baldwins-Gardens; and I am ve-  
 rilv



rily persuaded, that neither *Hughes* nor *Gladwin*, ever before that time spoke to *Bampton* and his Wife in their lives, for neither two remember, to have seen or heard of the other Informants, before my Lords Death. And who could imagine that two Soldiers should declare with such concern and earnestness that which was so very dangerous to be spoken, if their love to truth, and hatred of such a treacherous and bloody Murther had not even forced it from them, to the hazard of almost their Lives by such their Relation?

'Tis true, no Man ought to suffer barely upon hear-say Evidence, but such Testimony hath been used to corroborate what else may be sworn, and of it self may (in some cases) be enough to give satisfaction in the general, of the truth of a matter, and no farther is it here us'd: And I would have all Men consider the many such Testimonies heretofore produced, amongst which I shall only mention one which had an immediate relation to my self. *Mr. Blaithwaite* (Clerk of the Council in 1683. at my Tryal, pag. 22. being sworn on the behalf of the King, against *Mr. Speake* and my self, in his Relation of what Young *Edward's* Sister should declare to the Council-Board, (*viz.*) *That Braddon compelled the Boy to sign it*, (the Paper the young *Edwards* signed). This you find to be *Hear-say-Evidence*, and the *Author* (the Sister) then in Court, but testified no such thing; therefore this *Hear-say-Evidence* ought (if any ought) to have been rejected: And yet this *Hear-say-Evidence* (though not confirmed by the *Author* then upon Oath)

was

was not only admitted, but ordered to be Printed in the Trial in large Capital Letters. How much sooner ought the Evidence of *Brampton* and his Wife, as to what *Meake* declared ; and of *Hughes* and *Gladwin*, as to *Ruddle's* Account, be particularly remarked, seeing *Meake* and *Ruddle* we cannot now produce in Court, (as that Author was,) they (especially the first) being supposed to be murdered by way of prevention, by that bloody Party that murdered my Lord.

But the next Witness for this Murder, and by whom order'd, shall be from no hear-say Evidence, but from a Person of good Estate, and Reputation ; for, Mr. *Peter Effington* declareth, (and before the Lords in substance hath deposed), ' That he this Informant was in the *Tower* ' that Morning the late Earl of *Essex* died ; and ' about a quarter of an Hour before the said Earl's ' Death was discovered, this Informant observed ' His Highness to part a little way from His Majesty, and then beck'ned to two Gentlemen to ' come to him, who came accordingly ; and this ' Informant did observe His Highness to send ' them towards the Earl's Lodgings ; and less ' then a quarter of an Hour after, this Informant did observe these very two Men to return to his Highness, and as they came they ' smiled, and (to the best of this Informant's ' hearing and remembrance) said, *The business is done* ; upon which, His Highness seem'd very well pleased, and immediately thereupon ' His Highness went to His Majesty ; soon after ' which, News was brought to the King, *That the Earl of Essex had cut his Throat.*

The



The Centinel *Lloyd* declared, He could not be positive whether Major *Hawley* or the Warder let the Men into the outward door: But Major *Hawley* pretends, He could not; for he (as he saith) went out of his House at Five a Clock in the Morning, and did not go nigh his own House till News of my Lord's Death was brought him by *Monday* the Warder; and therefore he could not open the Door to any that went in just before my Lord's Death. This reason of Major *Hawley* is equally true with what else he saith in his Defence, as appears by this Information.

**R**ichard Nicholson, in the Ward of Queen-hithe, Corn-Factor, Deposeth. That the day of the Earl of Essex his Death, this Deponent was a Warder in the Tower, and stood Warder at the Inner-Towergate that Morning the Earl dy'd, (before the Earl's Death) and by Major *Hawley* (then Gentleman Porter of the Tower) ordered to let no Man into the Tower, or out of the Tower. This Deponent further deposeth, That about Eight of the Clock, or a little before, whilst this Deponent was Warder at the Gate, as aforesaid, he did observe the said Major *Hawley* five or six times turn up towards his own House through the Gate (over-against the Traytors-gate) leading towards his own House; and about Eight of the Clock the same Morning, this Deponent was desired by a Stranger to let him into the Tower, for which the said Stranger gave this Deponent a Shilling: This Deponent let him through the Gate: the said Major *Hawley* thereupon came to this Deponent in great fury, and checked this Deponent for let-

ing in the said Stranger into the Tower. This Deponent further deposeth, That Major Hawley ordered this Deponent (with several others) to go Warder with the Lord Russel to the Old-Bailey; and as this Deponent was going with the Lord Russel to the Old-Bailey, (viz.) about Eight of the Clock, he passed before Major Hawley's House, and did observe Major Hawley then to go into his own House.

Jurat' 9<sup>o</sup> die Aug.  
1689. coram me.

Richard Nicholson.

Tho. Pilkington, Mayor.

That Major Hawley was in the House when my Lord was murdered, seems farther probable from the Relation of *Mary Johnson*, then at work in Major Hawley's House at the time of my Lord's Death, and what Account she hath hereof given, appears by these two Informations.

The Information of *Philip Johnson* of *Whites-Alley* in *Coleman-street*, in *London*, Free-mason, taken the 22d day of *January*, 1688-9. before *John Robins*, Esq; a Justice of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

**T**HIS Informant maketh Oath, and saith, That *Mary Johnson*, his Wife, (since deceased) being a labouring Woman to Major Hawley, in whose House the late Earl of Essex was found dead, That the Morning on which he died, as she was at work, she heard a noise; and designing to go up Stairs, she met Major Hawley coming down, who told,



told, her My Lord was dead; upon which she went up Stairs, and found the said Earl dead in his Closet, as she gave her Husband, this Informant, an account; and by Order of the said Major Hawley, she helped and assisted a Man (to the best of his memory his Name is Major Webster) to strip the said Earl from his Cloaths; and at the further Command of the said Major Hawley, she washed the said Earl's Body, and also washed the said Chamber and Closet belonging to the said Earl, for which the said Major Hawley gave her 10 s. and that the Neck of the Cravat that she took off the said Earl's Neck, was cut in three pieces.

The Mark of Philip Johnson.

The Information of Miriam Tovey of Red-Lion-street in White-Chapel-Parish, in Middlesex, Widow, taken the day aforesaid before John Robins aforesaid.

**T**HIS Informant maketh Oath, and saith, That she several times heard Mary Johnson above-said declare the Substance of the preceeding Information; and further sweareth, The said Mary Johnson told her, That Major Webster was the Person who helped her to strip the said Earl of his Cloaths; which she was very unwilling to do, saying, She should bring her self into trouble and hazard of her Life, by intermeddling with the Body before the Coroner had sat upon it; and that Major Hawley told her, She must do it, and should come to no trouble by it.

Miriam Tovey.  
One

One Mr. *Bunch* (who formerly was a Warder in the *Tower*) discoursing with a Maid Servant (who liv'd in the *Tower*, at the time of my Lords Death) she said *that Major Hawley was the best Friend she had in the World*, upon Account of somewhat she knew relating to my Lord of *Essex's* Death.

I have good grounds to believe, that not a few in the *Tower*, that Morning my Lord was Murdered, could discover several things very material in order to a further detection; and particularly as to the coming out of the Ruffians after they had perpetrated this not-to-be-parallel'd treacherous Cruelty; for I have been informed by some, who that very Morning my Lord was murdered were in *Leaden-hall Market*, That there came a Servant-maid (who then lived, as she said, in the *Tower*) to that Market the very same Morning; and wringing her Hands, she wept, and cried out, *The Earl of Essex was murdered*; upon which, the People gathering about her, advised her to silence, telling her she would bring her self into trouble by such expressions; the Maid thereupon declared, *She was sure it was true, for she saw the Men that murdered him, just as they came from his Lodgings*.

I have used all diligence possible to find this Maid out; but neither of those I have met with could tel me her Name of the Person in the *Tower* with whom she lived. Not long after my Lord's Death, I was likewise informed of the Name of one who declared he saw the Ruffians just as they came out of my Lord's Lodgings, and did observe some Blood upon the Cloaths of  
one



one of them : But having been obliged in a hurry often to convey away my Papers, this Name I have lost.

If all Persons, who would discover any thing to prove my Lords Murder, had been so just, as to have appear'd before their Lordships, and upon Oath declar'd their Knowledge relating to such discovery, I have good cause to think many more would have been examin'd to prove this Murder. ---- But whosoever there is that can discover any thing material with relation to this Murther, and in silence stifles it, by such his silence he consents to the Murder of my Lord : And though our Law may not reach his Offence, yet he who knows it, will one day lay it to his Charge ; for if God requires that all Governments should make diligent Inquisition for Blood, in defect whereof he will require the Blood of the Slain at the hands of such Magistrates on whom this neglect is chargeable ; then on those Persons more especially will the greatest guilt lie, who refuse or neglect to give Information to those ordained for such Inquisition.

*Bomeny* (my Lords Servant by permission of the Privy Council attending his Lordship at the time of his Death) and *Ruffel* (the Warder who Swore he stood at my Lords Chamber-door, when my Lord dy'd) have both before the Coroner Swore, that a Razor was deliver'd to my Lord to pare his Nails. And that the very same Razor, was found by my Lords Body, when his Lordship was first found dead, and lock'd into the Closet.

But, there is good reason to believe, that no such Razor was ever delivered to his Lordship.  
And

And that his Lordship, when first found dead, was *not lock'd into the Closet.*

Those who conspir'd the cutting my Lords Throat; and to charge his Lordship with being his own Murtherer, did think it necessary, *that some Instrument, which my Lord might have an occasion to use, should be laid by my Lords Body, when Murdered, as the PRETENDED Instrument of his Death.* ----- And by Bomeny's sending to my Lords Steward, for a Penknife, it's probable that Penknife, had it been brought, before my Lords Murder, would have been laid by the dead Body, as the PRETENDED Instrument, of the suggested Self-Murder. But my Lord being Murdered, before the Footman brought the Penknife, therefore the Razor was to be laid by the Body, as the (falsly suggested) Instrument of my Lords Death. But had the large CARVING KNIFE, wherewith you will hereafter find cause to believe they cut my Lords Throat, been found by my Lords Body, when, these not privy to the Murder, where first to see my Lords Dead Body, *THEN that VERY KNIFE alone, would have prov'd that his Lordship was murder'd.* For it would have been natural for the Coroner and his Jury, and all others, to have concluded, that my Lord *could have no occasion* for such a Knife. And from thence would have believ'd that those *who brought that Knife, did therewith cut his Lordships Throat.*

That this Story, of the delivering the Razor to my Lord, a little before his Death, is the FORGERY of those who were privy to my Lords Murder appears very plain, from the notorious



torious contradictions as to the time of delivering this Razor to my Lord, in the Relations of my Lords Servant and Warders, who do all pretend, that they saw my Lord have this Razor in his Hand, that Morning wherein his Lordship dy'd. For,

*Bomeny* (my Lords Servant) in the Printed Information, which appears to have been writ by *Bomeny* in a Room, next to the Coroner and Jury, where several Persons were ready to Instruct him, Swears he deliver'd this Razor to my Lord, on *Thursday* which was the day before my Lords Death. Whereas, he had but a little before that Sworn before the Coroner, that he deliver'd this Razor to my Lord the very Morning my Lord died.

These Contradictions appear, by comparing *Bomeny's* Information, which was Printed by Authority, and that Information which the Coroner took, in his own Hand, upon his first examination upon Oath. And this last Information the Coroner upon Oath deliver'd to the Secret Committee. And both these Informations, are herein before Printed.

But *Monday* the Warder (who first stood at my Lord's Chamber-door for two Hours, before *Ruffel* (that Morning my Lord died) came to relieve him, declar'd to several Persons, the day of my Lords Death, that as soon as Major *Hawley*, had open'd my Lords Chamber-door, the Morning he died, he stood Warder there, and it was about Seven of the Clock, and that he then saw my Lord have this Razor in his  
Hand

Hand, two Hours before *Russel* came up to stand at my Lords Chamber-door; this is Sworn before the Secret Committee by two Persons.

But *Russel* in his Information before the Coroner hath Sworn, that this Razor was deliver'd by *Bomeny*, a little before my Lords Death, and whilst he stood Warder at my Lords Chamber-door. These before observ'd contradictions between *Bomeny*, *Monday*, and *Russel*, as to the time of delivering this Razor to my Lord, plainly appear by comparing their respective Accounts of delivering this Razor to my Lord.

Now can any Man believe, that *Bomeny* deliver'd this Razor to my Lord the day before his Death, according to the Information which *Bomeny* himself writ, and Swore to, before the Coroner. And at the same time give credit to what *Bomeny* had just before Sworn before the Coroner, (*viz.*) that this Razor he delivered to my Lord the very Morning he died.

And can any Man give credit to *Monday*'s Account of this Matter, which affirms that my Lord had this Razor in his Hand, at Seven of the Clock, the Morning of his Death. And yet give credit to *Russel*, who Swears, the Razor was deliver'd to my Lord by *Bomeny* a very little time before my Lords Death.

These three Attendants upon my Lord, at the time of his Death, are of equal credit, but you can't believe either of these three, as to the time of delivering this Razor to my Lord, without giving the Lye to the two other Informants, as to that matter wherefore, from those Contradictions as to the time of delivering this Razor  
to



to my Lord, between these three Attendants on my Lord, at his Death, there is just Grounds to believe, *that there was no Razor at all deliver'd to my Lord; whilst a Prisoner in the Tower.*

*Object.* If any Gentleman shall say, that all those three Attendants upon my Lord, at the time of his Death, agree in this (*viz.*) that there was a Razor delivered to my Lord when Prisoner in the *Tower*, and that their *Contradictions* are only in the Point of Time, when this Razor was deliver'd to his Lordship.

*Ans.* Its true, they are Circumstantial Contradictions, in the time of delivering this Razor to my Lord of *Essex*. And the contradiction of the Two Elders, in their charge of Adultery against *Susanna*, was only in point of the *Place*, where they took *Susanna* in Adultery. For the first of those Elders Swore that they took *Susanna* in Adultery, under a *Mastick-Tree*: But the Second Swore, it was under a *Holm-Tree*; But both these conspiring Accusers agreed in the main, (*viz.*) *That they took her in Adultery*. Yet nevertheless, by their contradictions, as to the Tree, under which they pretended to have taken her in Adultery, *DANIEL* convinc'd the whole Court, which before had *rashly* condemn'd *Susanna*, that those two conspiring Accusers, had falsly Sworn against *Susanna*; and therefore those two perjur'd Witnesses justly suffer'd that Death, which they had conspir'd to have had inflicted upon her, whom they had falsly accus'd. And I never yet heard any Person, deny *Daniel's*

N

Wisdom

Hand, two Hours before *Russel* came up to stand at my Lords Chamber-door; this is Sworn before the Secret Committee by two Persons.

But *Russel* in his Information before the Coroner hath Sworn, that this Razor was deliver'd by *Bomeny*, a little before my Lords Death, and whilst he stood Warder at my Lords Chamber-door. These before observ'd contradictions between *Bomeny*, *Monday*, and *Russel*, as to the time of delivering this Razor to my Lord, plainly appear by comparing their respective Accounts of delivering this Razor to my Lord.

Now can any Man believe, that *Bomeny* deliver'd this Razor to my Lord the day before his Death, according to the Information which *Bomeny* himself writ, and Swore to, before the Coroner. And at the same time give credit to what *Bomeny* had just before Sworn before the Coroner, (*viz.*) that this Razor he delivered to my Lord the very Morning he died.

And can any Man give credit to *Monday's* Account of this Matter, which affirms that my Lord had this Razor in his Hand, at Seven of the Clock, the Morning of his Death. And yet give credit to *Russel*, who Swears, the Razor was deliver'd to my Lord by *Bomeny* a very little time before my Lords Death.

These three Attendants upon my Lord, at the time of his Death, are of equal credit, but you can't believe either of these three, as to the time of delivering this Razor to my Lord, without giving the Lye to the two other Informants, as to that matter wherefore, from those Contradictions as to the time of delivering this Razor



to my Lord, between these three Attendants on my Lord, at his Death, there is just Grounds to believe, *that there was no Razor at all deliver'd to my Lord; whilst a Prisoner in the Tower.*

*Object.* If any Gentleman shall say, that all those three Attendants upon my Lord, at the time of his Death, agree in this (*viz.*) that there was a Razor delivered to my Lord when Prisoner in the *Tower*, and that their *Contradictions* are only in the Point of Time, when this Razor was deliver'd to his Lordship.

*Answ.* Its true, they are Circumstantial Contradictions, in the time of delivering this Razor to my Lord of *Effex*. And the contradiction of the Two Elders, in their charge of Adultery against *Susanna*, was only in point of the *Place*, where they took *Susanna* in Adultery. For the first of those Elders Swore that they took *Susanna* in Adultery, under a *Mastick-Tree*: But the Second Swore, it was under a *Holm-Tree*; But both these conspiring Accusers agreed in the main, (*viz.*) *That they took her in Adultery*. Yet nevertheless, by their contradictions, as to the Tree, under which they pretended to have taken her in Adultery, *DANIEL* convinc'd the whole Court, which before had rashly condemn'd *Susanna*, that those two conspiring Accusers, had falsly Sworn against *Susanna*; and therefore those two perjur'd Witnesses justly suffer'd that Death, which they had conspir'd to have had inflicted upon her, whom they had falsly accus'd. And I never yet heard any Person, deny *Daniel's*

N                      Wisdom

Wisdom and Justice, in this *Detection*, or was that Court ever thought unjust, which upon that *Detection*, did punish with Death those two Conspiring, but perjur'd Elders. *Vide* the History of *Susan* in the *Apocrapha*.

I shall now prove that those Attendants upon my Lord, have *Sworn falsely*, in *Swearing that the Clofset-door was lock'd upon my Lord, when they first saw him Dead*. And this will plainly appear by the *many Contradictions*, between those three Attendants, *as to the Person*, who first open'd this Clofset-door, after those three Attendants pretended, first to have discover'd my Lords Death. For *Bomeny* first Swore before the Coroner, that after he had knock'd at the Clofset-door, and my Lord did not thereupon speak, that He [*Bomeny*] did open the Door, and there saw my Lord lying in his Blood, and the Razor by him. And that *T H E N* he call'd the Warder *Russel*. But this very *Bomeny*, when he, by the Instruction of his Tutors, writ his own Information, in a Room separate from the Coroner and his Jury, *T H E N* Swears, that when he [*Bomeny*] had knock'd thrice at the Clofset-door, calling my Lord! my Lord! my Lord! And His Lordship not answering, he peep'd through a Chink of the Door, and then saw Blood, and part of the Razor. And that thereupon he call'd the Warder *Russel*, and that *Russel did first open the Door*. But this very *Bomeny* being, at my Tryal ask'd, who first open'd the Clofset-door, upon my Lords Death, being first discover'd by his Attendants. Swears, *T H A T H E K N E W N O T* who open'd the Door. But,  
*Russel*



*Russel Swears before the Coroner, that when Bomeny cry'd out, that my Lord was fallen down sick; that thereupon Russel went to the Clofset-door, and open'd it, the Key being on the out side. And Russel here makes no difficulty in opening the Door. But Monday, my Lords other Warder, the very day of my Lords Death, declared to two of his Acquaintance (as they have Sworn before the Secret Committee) that my Lords Body lay so very close, and strong against the Door, that neither Bomeny or Russel could open the Door, but that he being much stronger than either of them, put his Shoulders against the Door and then pushing with all his might, he broke it open.*

*If you mind those last observ'd Contradictions, between those three Attendants upon my Lord, as to the first opening the Clofset-door, after my Lord was Dead. You will find it first Sworn by Bomeny, that he open'd the Clofset-door, but he soon after Swore, that Russel first open'd it. And Russel Swears that he open'd it, the Key being upon the out-side, and mentions no difficulty in opening the Door, from my Lords Body being (as pretended by Monday) against it. But Monday affirm'd that the Body lay so strong against the Door, that neither Bomeny or Russel could open the Door. But that he, by pushing with all his might, broke it open. These Contradictions, between those three Attendants, as to the first opening the Clofset Door, plainly prove, that the Clofset Door was not lock'd upon my Lord's Body, when he was first found Dead, by those Attendants. But as a further*

Argument that the Closet Door was not lock'd upon my Lords Body - - -

*William Turner* and *Samuel Peck*, have both Sworn before the Secret Committee, that they were Servants to my Lord of *Effex* at the time of his Death, and that they had brought some Provisions to my Lords Lodgings in the *Tower*, a little before my Lords Death was first discover'd to those out of the House. And that they were some of the first who entred my Lords Chamber, after my Lords Death was discover'd to those out of the House, *and that my Lords Body lay in the Closet, but most part of his Legs out of the Closet as the Body is represented in the Cut before this Book annex.*

*And Monday, Russel and Bomeny then declar'd, that was the VERY POSTURE in which they first saw my Lord Dead, and that no Person whatsoever, had mov'd, or touch'd the Body, after my Lords Death was first, by those Attendants discover'd. And Turner and Peck, have farther Sworn, that they then observ'd, the Print of a bloody Foot upon my Lords Stocking, and by the Print of that bloody Foot, it appear'd to be made by one, who must be coming out of the Closet, after my Lord was Dead. And that must be one of the Ruffins who Murder'd him.*

I shall now briefly sum up that Evidence, which proves that the Razor was not lock'd into the Closet with my Lords Body, when his Lordship was first found Dead, as these before mention'd three Attendants, upon my Lord in the *Tower*, have Sworn. For

*William*



*William Edwards* and *Jane Loadman* (two Children of thirteen Years of Age, at the time of my Lords Death) have Sworn before the Secret Committee, when they were Eighteen Years of Age. That they saw a bloody Razor thrown out of my Lords Chamber-window, before my Lords Death was discover'd to those out of the House. And several of the Relations of those two Children have Sworn, that as soon as those Children return'd from the *Tower*, that very Morning my Lord dy'd, they gave that Account to them. And that these Parents were altogether then strangers to each other, the Boy living in *Mark Lane*, West of the *Tower*. And the Girl at *St. Catherines*, which is East from the *Tower*, and about half a Mile distant from where the Boy liv'd.

And this Relation of the *Boy and Girl*, as to the throwing the Razor out of the Chamber could then have in that Account, no design of proving my Lords Murder. *For it was not publicly known, that my Lords Servant and Warders, would that next Day Sware before the Coroner, that the Razor was lock'd into the Closet, when they first found my Lord Dead.*

And *William Edwards* did farther depose before the Secret Committee, that he would have Sworn this at my Tryal, had not Major *Hawly*, at whose House my Lord dy'd, frighted him into a denial, for this *Edwards* Swears, that the said Major *Hawley*, meeting him, as he was going into *Wistmister-Hall*, to be an Evidence at my Tryal, in a very threatening manner told *this Edwards* (then being about thirteen Years of Age)

Age) that if he the said *Hawly*, had the management of him, the said *Edwards*; *He should be whipt once a Fortnight for Seven Years*, which threatning of the Major, did so terrify that Informant (then but 13) that he was afraid to speak the Truth at my Fryal, least he should be severely punish'd for so doing. But as a further Evidence of the throwing this Razor out of my Lords Chamber Window, before it was publickly known (out of the House,) that my Lord was dead. It is positively Sworn by Mr. *Samuel Story*, that Major *Webster* (one of the suppos'd Ruffins) did confesse to him, that he threw that Razor out of my Lords Window. And when Mr. *Story* ask'd *Webster* what made him to throw that Razor out of the Window? *Webster* Reply'd, *that when he did it, he was under such a Consternation, that he knew not what he did.*

And *Lloyd*, who stood Centinel at my Lords Lodging where my Lord dy'd, confest, that he did let in that very Major *Webster*, into Major *Hawly's* House where my Lord lodg'd, a little before my Lords Death. And that some short time after that, he saw the bloody Razor thrown out of my Lords Chamber Window, before his Death was known to any out of that House. Most Men are to seek for a Reason, that should induce any of those suppos'd Assassines, to throw the Razor out of my Lords Chamber-window, before his Death was discover'd to any out of that House?

*Ans. If we consider the fear and Amazement, which might naturally seize those Ruffins, upon*



on the least interruption, in perfecting that Scene, wherein they did intend my Lords Body should be first expos'd to view, to those not privy to the Murder, we must not expect that what is done, under such a *sudden Confusion*, should always be acted according to the best Policy. And you find that Major *Webster* did confess, that when he threw that Razor out of the Window, he was under such a Confusion, that he knew not what he did. Now that great Confusion might be occasion'd by some ones coming up Stairs, to my Lords Chamber, before the Murtherers had laid every thing in that posture, wherein innocent Spectators were first to see my Lords Body. And *Webster*, then having the bloody Razor in his Hand, in the Chamber, which Razor was intended to be laid in the Closet by the Body, as the pretended Instrument of his Death. Upon the coming up of one, who was not then privy to the Murder, was afraid, that some Person might be coming to my Lord, and sent by proper Authority, and that he should be found in my Lords Chamber, with this bloody Razor in his Hand : Being thereupon under a fear of a Discovery, *Webster* threw the bloody Razor out of the Chamber-Window. But that dreadful fear, was soon over, when the Confederate Villains found, that the Person coming up Stairs, was only the servant Maid of the House, who afterwards carried up the Razor, and was soon prevail'd upon by her Master, to be silent. And then that Razor was laid by the Body, in the Closet, as the pretended Instrument of my Lords Death. As to what is mention'd, in the latter

part

part of the next preceeding Paragraph, I did receive a very credible Information therein, soon after my Lords Murder.

That the above mention'd Major *Webster* was one of the Murderers, farther appear probable, from what is Sworn of his producing my Lords bloody Pocket Handkerchief the very Day my Lord dy'd, and that Handkerchief was known by the *E.* and Coronet upon it, and *Webster* then rejoicing shook it, and said. *Here is the Blood of a Traytor, and I do hope to see many more such Rogues, go the same way.* And the very next day (the same Informant Swears) that Major *Webster* produc'd a Knit Purse, out of which he told Forty-nine Guineas and a Pistol. Whereas, it is prov'd that before that time, the said *Webster* was *very poor*, and in hourly danger of being imprison'd for Debts.

Had the Coroners Jury narrowly observ'd all Parts of my Lords Body, from their observations thereupon, they might have been convinc'd, that my Lord was Murder'd. But when the Jury had been shewn the large cut in the Throat, which was uncover'd by the Sheet, which cover'd all other Parts of the Body, they were immediately adjourn'd, from my Lords Chamber, to a Publick-House in the *Tower*. But had the Jury but uncover'd the Body, and observ'd the five Cuts, in my Lords right Hand, **THAT ALONE** would have convinc'd them that my Lord was Murder'd, and that those five Cuts, in his Lordships right Hand were made, upon his Lordships endeavouring to put off that Instrument of Death, wherewith his Murders



cut his Throat. For it is positively Sworn before the Secret Committee, that there were five cuts upon my Lords right Hand, (*viz.*) one almost on the Top of his fore Finger, and another upon the same Finger, and near the Hand, and a third cut upon the fourth Finger, and another cut upon his little Finger of the same Hand. And a fifth cut very large, about two Inches long, in the Palm of my Lords right Hand. But none of the Coroners Jury, who were examined before the Secret Committee, would declare that they had view'd my Lords right Hand. And that they might not make such Observations upon a strict view of all my Lords Body as were proper, and were necessary to be made after a slight view of the Cut in the Throat, they were hurried away to a Publick House, where one of the most sensible Men of the Jury, told *Bomeny*, that he was inform'd, his Lord was a very good Man; whereupon *Bomeny* declared, that his Lord was as good a Man as liv'd. Then this Jury-man said, that it was strange, so good a Man should be guilty of the greatest Sin, for said the Jury-man no Action can be worse than Self-murder.

Whereupon Major *Hawley* told that Jury-man, That whosoever thought, that Self-murder was unlike my Lords Principles, was not well acquainted with his Lordships Principles, for many Gentlemen, who were intimately acquainted with his Lordship, knew that his Lordship had often declared that any Man might cut his own Throat, or otherwise destroy himself, to avoid an infamous Death. And therefore this Self-murder was

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cut



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according to his Lordships avow'd Principles. This was Sworn by that very Juryman before the Secret Committee, and that this declaration of Major *Hawley* did the more easily incline that Juryman to believe, that my Lord himself had really cut his own Throat. But when Major *Hawley* was ask'd, by their Lordships of the Committee, by whom was he ever inform'd that my Lord of *Essex* had ever justify'd such a Self-murder? The Major did thereupon solemnly declare, that, before my Lord's Inquisition he did never hear that my Lord of *Essex* had ever been of such a Principle, as to justify Self-murder, and the Major did further declare to their Lordships, that he was not near the Jury at the Publick House, where they did consider of this Inquisition. It is well known, that it was industriously reported about Town, soon after my Lord's Death, that my Lord of *Essex* had often justify'd Self-murder, as a lawful Act, to avoid an infamous Execution. But Major *Hawley's* denying, before the Committee, that he did ever suggest to the Jury, that my Lord had justify'd Self-murder, and that before that Jury sat he did never hear it reported to be my Lord's Principle - - -

This denial of the Major plainly proves, that he was conscious to himself, this, pretended Principle was a false Charge against his Lordship. But seeing this Suggestion of the Major to the Jury is positively Sworn against him, by the Jury (to whom the Major was very well known) it plainly proves, that this Suggestion was a false and malicious invented Story, and  
 forg'd



forg'd by the Party who Murder'd my Lord. And that Major *Hawley* was pre-instructed, by the Confederating Murderers, to corrupt the Jury with this Suggestion, so that they might the more easily be inclin'd to believe that my Lord did indeed cut his own Throat. And whereas Major *Hawley* did solemnly declare before the Committee, that he was not with the Jury at the Publick House, where they consider'd of this Inquisition. This denial is prov'd before the Committee, by several of the Jury to be false; for the Major had given the Coroner's Jury repeated occasions to remember that the Major was very industrious, at that Publick House, to hurry the Jury in finishing their Inquisition. For some of that Jury, at that Publick House desir'd the Coroner that they might not then finish this Inquisition, but that they might be adjourn'd, and notice given to my Lord's Family of that adjournment, so that if any of my Lord's Relations or Friends, would prove any thing on my Lord's behalf, in Contradiction to the pretended Self-murder. Such Evidence might by the Jury be heard, before they did agree upon any Inquisition. But Major *Hawley* then prevents the Adjournment, by telling the Coroner and the Jury they could not Adjourn, but must immediately finish thier Enquiry; because the King (then sitting (in Council) had sent for thier Inquisition, and his Majesty had declar'd he would not rise from the Council Board, until their Inquisition was brought to him. This false Suggestion, from *Hawley*, caus'd the Jury to make more Hast than good Speed, and so without any fur-

ther Consideration, they agreed upon their Inquisition. But Major *Hawley* being ask'd by the Secret Committee, who was the Man, that pretended to come Express from the King upon this Occasion? The Major declared to their Lordships, that he never knew of such an Express from the King, and that he did not suggest this to the Coroner's Jury, nor was he ever with them, at that Publick House where they finish'd that Inquiry. But several of the Jury, before the Secret Committee, did positively swear all that is before alledg'd, to be by the Major suggested to the Jury. Had the Coroner discharg'd his Duty, in taking this Inquisition, he would have caus'd *Bomeny* (my Lord's Servants) *Monday* and *Russel*, his two Warders *to be kept a part*, (at the time of their Examination) *so that neither might hear, or know, what Questions were ask'd the other Examinants*. And if upon such separate Examinations *Bomeny*, *Russel*, and *Monday* had point blank contradicted each other, according to what is herein before observ'd, to have been by those three Attendants, sworn, or declar'd, in relation to the time of delivering the Razor to my Lord, and as to the Person (of those three Attendants) who first open'd the Closet-door upon my Lord's Body. I believe the Coroner's Jury, had they been of common Sense and Honesty, would have believ'd that neither of those Examinants did intend to discover what he knew, relating to my Lord's Death, but that they were all three preingag'd, *falsely to swear*, what might influence the Coroner and his Jury to believe that my Lord himself cut his own Throat. For  
 should



should *Bomeny* (upon his first Examination) have Sworn, before the Coroner, that he deliver'd the Razor to my Lord the day before his Death, and upon a second Examination before the Coroner, as to that Matter should have positively Sworn, that he did not deliver this Razor to my Lord, until about half an Hour before his Lordship's Death was discover'd. And should *Monday* have Sworn, before the Coroner and Jury, that he saw my Lord have this Razor in his Hand, and therewith scraping his Nails, at seven of the Clock in the Morning, as soon as my Lord's Chamber-door was open'd, and two Hours before *Russel* stood Warder at my Lord's Chamber-door. And should *Russel* have Sworn, that he saw this Razor deliver'd to my Lord by *Bomeny*, after *Monday* had left his Station at my Lord's Chamber-door, and not a half an Hour before his Death. The Coroner and Jury must, upon those Contradictions, have believ'd, the Story of the delivery of a Razor to my Lord, a little before his Death, to be an intire forgery, and wherein those three Attendants, were pre-instructed, by some of those confederating Murderers, who had been the principal Contrivers of this barbarous Murder.

And (as to the first opening the Closet-door upon my Lord's Body) should *Bomeny* first have Sworn before the Coroner, that my Lord, not speaking when he had three times knock'd at the Closet-door, that he then first open'd the Door, and then saw his Lordship lying in his blood; and the Razor by him. But upon a second Examination by the Coroner, should *Bomeny* have Sworn, that, he upon knocking  
thrice

thrice at my Lord's Closet-door, my Lord not answering, that he only peep'd thro' the Chink of the Door, and then seeing my Lord on the ground, and the Razor by him, he call'd *Russel* (then at my Lord's Chamber-door) who there-upon came, and first open'd the Closet-door. And should *Russel* have Sworn, that he first open'd the Closet-door, and without any difficulty, the Key being upon the out-side of the Closet-door. But had *Monday* been Sworn before the Coroner, he would have depos'd, that neither *Bomeny* or *Russel*, were strong enough to push the Door open, because my Lord's Body lay close and weighty against the Door, and that he himself did put his Shoulders against the Door, and thrusting with all his Strength, he thereby remov'd the Body, and so open'd the Door. These beforemention'd Contradictions, between those three Attendants as to the delivery of the Razor, and opening the Closet-door would have convinc'd the Jury, that the Closet-door, was not Lock'd upon the Body, as two of those three Attendants had Sworn before the Coroner, and as the third (that very Morning my Lord dy'd) had declar'd to several of his Friends, who have Sworn it. And from these forg'd and false Accounts, as to the delivering the Razor, and opening the Closet-door, the Jury would have concluded, that those three Attendants had resolved to *conceal* what was **REALLY TRUE**, and *most necessary to be known*, relating to my Lord's Death. *For no Man ever Swore a premeditated LYE, but to conceal a material TRUTH.*

And



And seeing those three Attendants, by their contradictory and false Informations, had refus'd to discover SUCH TRUTHS relating to my Lord's Death, as they themselves were privy to, and which would have plainly prov'd how my Lord was barbarously Murder'd. The Jury, from hence, ought in Justice to have concluded, that those two forsworn Warders, and Servant were at least consenting to, if not the real Actors of that perfidious and barbarous Murder ; which Treacherous Cruelty it was their Duty (as my Lord's Warders and Servant) to have prevented.

But alas! such separate Examinations, of these three Attendants, could not be expected from such a *Deputy-Coroner*, who in taking this Inquisition, was himself under the Direction of those, in the next Room to the Jury, who had assisted *Bomeny* in the forging his second Information. For when some of the Jury, insisted to have all the Cloaths produc'd, in which my Lord was found dead. The Coroner was hastily call'd into that next Room, and soon returning, he (in a passionate manner) told the Jury, *It was my Lord's Body, and not his Cloths, they were to sit upon. That they had seen the Body, and that was sufficient.*

This was Sworn (before the Secret Committee) by several of the Coroner's Jury.

King *Charles* the Second, with the then Duke of *York*, was then in the *Tower*, when my Lord dy'd, and when inform'd thereof, (which was a few Minutes after his Lordship's Death was first discover'd to those out of the House) his  
Ma-

Majesty appear'd to be very sorry for the same,  
 and immediately sent my Lord *Alington*, then  
 Governour of the *Tower*, Sir C - - M. and  
*Thomas Howard*, Esq; to my Lord's Lodgings,  
 and his Majesty commanded those three Gentle-  
 men, that they should take immediate care, that  
 all attending upon my Lord might be secur'd,  
 and by them strictly Examin'd, in Relation to  
 my Lord's Death. And those three Gentlemen  
 should (as from his Majesty's) order, that my  
 Lord's Body should remain in that posture where-  
 in it was first found, until the Coroner's Jury  
 had sat upon the Body. Soon after those three  
 Gentlemen had entred my Lord's Chamber, and  
 order'd his Lordship's Attendants, at the time  
 of his Death, to be secured, Sir C - - M. (as a  
 Justice of the Peace) began the Examination of  
 one of those Attendants, but as soon as he began  
 that Examination, a Gentleman came, pretend-  
 ing to be sent by the King, to command Sir  
 C - - M. (as from his Majesty) to go to the  
*Old Bayly* (where my Lord *Russel* was then try-  
 ing) and inform the Attorney General, then  
 chief Council against my Lord *Russel*, of my  
 Lord's Death, and to know of the Attorney Ge-  
 neral, what was fit to be order'd, in relation  
 thereunto. But Sir C - - M. by the same Gentle-  
 man, desir'd his Majesty's leave, that he might take  
 the Examinations of all my Lord's Attendants at  
 the time of his Death. pursuant to his Majesty's  
 first Command. But the same Gentleman soon came  
 again the second time, as from the King, to tell  
 Sir *Christopher*, that it was his Majesty's expresse  
 Command, that he should immediately go to the  
 Old



*Old Bayly.* In obedience to this repeated Command, Sir C - - M. immediately went to the *Old Baily*. But when the Secret Committee ask'd Sir C - - M. WHO that Gentleman was, that so came with repeated Orders, as from the King, for Sir *Christopher's* going to the *Old Baily*, to inform the Court (then trying my Lord *Russel*) of my Lord of *Effex's* Death. For the Lords of the Secret Committee told Sir C. that they did believe, that the Gentleman us'd his Majesty's Authority, without his Majesty's privity. But Sir C - - M. did depose that he could not recollect, WHO that Gentleman was, which gave those repeated Orders, as from his Majesty. It was a great Misfortune, that Sir C. could not remember, who this Messenger was; for could that have been known, it might probably have been discover'd, that this Messenger was sent by the then Duke of *York*, who too often in those days us'd the King's Authority, without his Majesty's privity, and against the true Interest, of both *King* and *Kingdom*. But contrary to what was thus order'd by his Majesty, as to continuing of my Lord's Body, in the very posture, wherein it was first found. My Lord's Body was stript, the very day of his Death, and all his Cloths then carryed away, and the Room and Closet wash'd. And all this done by the command of Major *Hawley*, who was justly suspected as highly Criminal, in relation to my Lord's Death, as appears by several of those Examinations, herein before mention'd. The day before the Convention met, he was confin'd to his own House, by order of the Lord *Lucas*, then Go-

vernour of the *Tower*, as soon as the Lord *Lucas* had receiv'd those before-mention'd Informations, which relate to Major *Hawley*. As soon as the Coroner had taken this Inquisition, he carry'd the same, with those before mention'd Informations by him taken, to *White-Hall* to the Secretary of State, in order to their being immediately printed. But when by the Secretary, or some in Authority, under him, it was found that *Bomeny* my Lord's Servant had Sworn, that he deliver'd the Razor to my Lord on *Thursday* the day before his Death, and *Russel* had Sworn it was not deliver'd until *Friday*, and not half an Hour before his Death. These Contradictions (by some at *White-Hall*) were not thought convenient to be expos'd in print, as they were Sworn, least they should give just ground of Suspicion that the **WHOLE STORY** [of the delivery of a Razor to my Lord] was **FORG'D**, and therefore a Reconciler was order'd to amend *Bomeny's* Information, so that it might be agreeable to *Russel's* Information. And thereupon this Reconciler (to what *Bomeny* had Sworn) added [on *Friday* the 13th Instant] but this **FORG'D** addition was made without the least congruity to *Sense* or Grammer. For its apparent, that the forgoing part of *Bomeny's* Information relates wholly to *Thursday*, but at last, without any regard to what *Bomeny* had before Sworn [on *Friday* the 13th Instant] is *forg'd* and *foisted* in contrary to all Rules of Grammer, and common Measures of Sense.



I shall now give a more particular Account of what Arbitrary Measures were taken to prevent a discovery of this Murder. How several of the Soldiers who were in the *Tower*, that Morning my Lord dy'd, having made such Discoveries, as satisfy'd them my Lord was treacherously Murder'd. Those Soldiers had, that very day, us'd too great a freedom, in their Discourse, with relation thereunto. And therefore (*Meak*, declar'd to two who have Sworn it) that the next Morning after my Lord's Death, a Colonel in the *Tower*, call'd several Soldiers together, and, under severe Threatenings enjoyn'd *them not to speak one word, of what they had seen or heard, relating to my Lord's Death*. Wherefore the said *Robert Meak* desir'd those Persons (to whom he had, the very day of my Lord's Death, freely discours'd concerning my Lord's being Murder'd) not to devulge what he had told them relating to my Lord's Death, for (said *Meak*) should *that* be known, it would prove my Ruin. But some short time after that, this very *Robert Meak* declar'd [to three Persons, who have Sworn it] *that he did believe, he should be privately Murder'd, for what he knew, and had declar'd relating to my Lord's Death*; and, the very day he was Murder'd, he desir'd one *Bampton* and *Davison* to keep him Company the remaining Part of that day; for I fear that this day I shall otherwise be Murder'd, for (said *Meak*) I have this day observ'd that I am dog'd, by some *Strange* and suspicious Persons. But *Bampton* and *Davison* refus'd to keep *Meak* Company, lest they themselves should thereby indanger their own Lives. And the

very next Morning this *Meak* was found dead in the *Tower-Ditch*, and just over against Major *Webster's* Ale-House, which stood near *Tower-Ditch*.

As for *Ruddle* the Soldier, (who the day of my Lord's Death, had so freely discover'd what he knew relating to my Lord's Murder) I was inform'd, that this *Ruddle* was with some other Soldiers, sent to the *East-Indies*, soon after my Lord's Death; and, at *Fort St. George*, shot to Death; but I could not learn, for what Cause he was so punish'd.

There was one Mr. *Hawley*, a Warder in the *Tower* that very Morning my Lord was Murder'd, and by what he had observ'd in relation thereunto, he had reason to declare to a Friend, *that my Lord's Death was a piece of Villany throughout.*

This Mr. *Hawley*, being in *Westminster-Hall*, whilst I was trying at the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, he said, *That he wondred what made me stir, in relation to my Lord of Essex's Death, when, to his Knowledge, I knew nothing of that Matter.* Whereupon one Mr. *Broom* (then the City Coroner) said, *Mr. Hawley, if you know that Mr. Braddon knows nothing, in relation thereunto, what must YOU know of that Matter?* Whereunto Mr. *Hawley* made no Reply. But Mr. *Hawley's* Knowledge therein cost him dear; for about *March* next after my Lord's Death, Mr. *Hawley* was missing, whereupon one of the Warders (who was suppos'd to be a Papist) said, that Mr. *Hawley* had been prating about the *Earl of Essex's* Death, and for such his Discourse was forc'd to fly.



*fy.* But six Weeks discover'd the contrary ; for this Mr. *Hawley* was then found dead, and stript, in a River near *Rochester*, and his Murderers had so barbarously treated him, and bruised, and altered his Face, from his natural Form, that by his Face none could know him. But his Murderers had left his Stockings upon his Legs, and thereby his Wife knew the Body to be her Husbands, for he wore *three Stockings* upon one Leg, and (for some indisposition in the other Leg) two Stockings, and a Seer-cloth. After this Mr. *Hawley* had been missing a few days, and upon the strickest Inquiry could not be heard of, his Widow, in several *Gazettes* offer'd a Reward of One Hundred Pounds to any, that should discover her Husband's Body dead or alive. But it was near six Weeks before the Body was found.

It is believ'd some more Persons were Murder'd, to prevent their discovering what they knew in relation to my Lord's Murder ; for *John Holland* (one of the suppos'd Assassines) declar'd *That several Persons had been made away, for blabbing what they knew relating to my Lord of Essex's Death.*

And besides such additional Murders, to prevent the discovery of my Lord's Murder, other arbitrary Methods were practis'd to hinder other People from discovering what they knew relating to my Lord's Murder - - For,

*Richard Jordan* depos'd, that some short time after my Lord's Death, he saw a Soldier ty'd to the Wooden-Horse in the *Tower* (by order of Lieutenant Colonel *Nicholson*) and whipt after a  
cruel

cruel and barbarous Manner : And this Deponent heard the said Colonel *Nicholson* tell the Soldier *he ought to have been hang'd for what he had said.* And this Deponent being very well acquainted with the Marshal, that whipt that Soldier, he did, afterwards inquire of the Marshal, how many Stripes he gave that Soldier, and the Marshal said, that the said Colonel *Nicholson* commanded him to give him fifty three Stripes, and stood by all the time to see it done. Whereas the usual Number of Stripes given to Soldiers whipt at that Horse, was Twelve. Whereupon this Informant, then ask'd the Marshal what great Offence had that poor Soldier committed, that his Punishment was so severe, whereupon the said Marshal gave the Deponent this Information (*viz.*) That a certain Doctor of Divinity standing over against the Chamber, Wherein my Lord dy'd. the Doctor then ask'd that poor Soldier (then standing near him) *which was the Chamber, where my Lord of Essex cut his Throat ?* Whereupon the Soldier pointed to my Lord's Chamber Window, and said, *that is the Chamber, wherein it is said, that the Earl did cut his Throat.* The Doctor then ask'd the Soldier, *what he did believe ?* I believe in God, reply'd the Soldier, upon which the Doctor said, *that belief of yours I do not now Question ; but I desire to know of you, whether you do not believe that the late Earl of Essex did indeed cut his Throat ?* and pressing the Soldier, for his Answer thereunto, that unhappy Soldier did thereupon, say, Sir, I will not say I do believe it - - And, thereupon the Doctor inform'd the Governour, of what was said



said by that Soldier, who was thereupon put in Prison, and for a Fortnight, fed upon Bread and Water, and, when the Governour was out of the *Tower*, Lieutenant Colonel *Nicholson*, order'd the barbarous Whipping above-mentioned to be inflicted. And the more effectually to prevent any Discourse, that might give the least credit to my Lord's being Murder'd, the then arbitrary Proceedings of those days punish'd one of my Lord's Coroners Jury, because he declar'd his dissatisfaction in finding my Lord *Felo-de-se*. This Juryman was one Mr. *Colston*, who had many Years taught Writing, and the Mathematicks upon *Tower-Hill*. And some time after my Lord's Death, this Juryman was giving some Persons an Account of the several Irregularities which had been practis'd, relating to my Lord's Body, before they of the Coroner's Jury had seen the Body, and that Juryman declar'd that these Jurymen were not permitted to make those Inquiries, which were necessary to discover the True manner of my Lord's Death. And then that Juryman did further say, *That he did believe that all of us [the Coroner's Jury] were infatuated to bring my Lord in Felo-de-se, but he did believe, that had they not been hurried into their Inquisition, they should have found it otherwise - - -* For this Discourse, this honest Coroner's Juryman, was prosecuted, upon an Information, and first was sentenced to pay a Fine of Three Hundred Pounds, and to be Pillory'd. But Sir *John Friend* (who was executed for High Treason since the Revolution) having been this *Colston's* Scholar, and then having a great Interest

Interest at Court, and particularly with the then Duke of *York*, interceded for a Mittigation of the above Judgment, and Sir *John Friend* therein so far prevail'd, that the Pillorying the Jurymen was remitted, and his Fine mittigated. But he lay Prisoner for some time in the *Kings-Bench-Prison*, for that mitigated Fine.

If such arbitrary Practices, as those mention'd, were us'd, to prevent any Persons declaring their belief of my Lord's Murder. It could not then be expected, that those then in Power would give the least Encouragement to a full Discovery of this perfidious and barbarous Murder, and therefore all reasonable Proposals made to them, then in Power, for a Discovery of this Murder, were to be rejected; and a remarkable Instance hereof, is what follows, (*viz.*)

About six Weeks after my Lord's Death, there was a Letter unseal'd, left with one Mr. *Cadman* a Bookseller, then living in *Durham Exchange* in the *Strand*, this Letter was directed to the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of *Essex*, the Substance of this Letter, was, That,

*If her Honour could prevail with the King, for the Author's Pardon, he would then make a full Discovery, how, by whom, and, whose Order my Lord was Murther'd. And this Letter did assure her Honour, that the (then) Duke of York, and my Lord——were Authorizing this Murder.*

This Letter was Subscrib'd P. B.

By the Hand, wherein it was writ, and the two Letters Subscrib'd, *Paul Bomeny*, before-mention'd, was the Author of this Letter, and this



*Bomeny* did once blasphemously say, that *he knew as well how my Lord came by his Death, as God Almighty himself.*

The Letter above-mentioned was fairly writ between a *Roman* and an *Italian* Hand, and such *Bomeny* did writ, when he did intend to write his best. And the two Letters, *P. B.* are the two innitial Letters, to *Paul Bomney's* Name.

*Object.* If it shall be objected, that this Letter can't be suppos'd to be Writ and Subscrib'd by *Bomney* himself; for had this Fellow been taken up, and the Letter prov'd to have been writ by him, this Letter alone might have convicted him, seeing therein he did (in Substance) confess himself guilty of that Murder.

*Answ.* Could this Letter have been prov'd to be *Bomeny's* writing; nay, had he confess'd he writ the same, he was in no danger of a Prosecution from the Male-Administration of those days. For had those then in Authority hereupon caus'd *Bomeny* to have been apprehended, they would therein *have catch'd a Tartar*; for should they have proceeded against him, upon this Letter, the World would then have concluded, *that the whole Contents thereof had been true*, and Consequently that the then *Duke of York, and my Lord - - - were the principal Contrivers of this barbarous Murder.* And then, *what would the Duke of York, and his Creatures then the Principal Ministers of State, have got by such a Prosecution, Conviction and Punishment?*

Mr. *Cadman* depos'd before the Secret Committee, that he carry'd that Letter to a Justice of Peace, who did afterwards inform Mr. *Cadman*, that he carry'd it to the Secretary of State. But Mr. *Cadman* depos'd that he was not sent for, either by that Secretary of State, or any other Minister of State, to be Examin'd, in Relation to the Receipt of that Letter.

Had not the then Duke of *York* (whose impatience for the Crown would not stay as you will hereafter find, until a disease had fairly given him the Succession) been guilty, of being the Principal Author of my Lord's Murder, and had not some of that Dukes chief Creatures been also involv'd in the same guilt; no *Charge*, nor *Industry* would have been wanting, in the then Ministry, to find out the Author of that Letter, in order to a full discovery of that Murder, which in it self, and the Consequences thereof, was one of the most treacherous and barbarous Cruelties that was ever Recorded in *Great Britains* Annals.

I have great Cause to believe, that King *Charles* the Second was never inform'd of this Letter, for I have many particular Circumstances which strongly prove, that his then Majesty, was not made privy to that black Contrivance of my Lord's Murder; for you will hereafter find that King *Charles* the Second did intend to have had the Earl of *Effex's* Murder fully discover'd, in order to which King *Charles* would have pardon'd one, or more, of the under-Actors, in order to have made a full Discovery of the Principal Authors of that Murther, tho' King *Charles* the Second out of natural Affection to his  
 Brother



Brother, the then Duke of York, would have remov'd that Dukes Person from the danger of suffering, what his Guilt therein had justly deserv'd, and therefore the then King would have oblig'd that Duke to Travel, before King Charles had order'd a *Milius Inquerendum* into the Murder of this unfortunate Lord; for his Majesty did declare to the then Lord Allington (not many days before his *untimely Death*) that his Majesty would make a strict Inquiry into my Lord's Death - - - But of this I shall (in the close of this Discourse) give a more particular Account, and (upon what occasion) King Charles had come to that Relation in relation to the Discovery of my Lord's Murder.

Some short time after the Secret Committee of Lords was appointed to inquire into my Lord's Death; *Paul Bomeny* before mention'd, being in France, writ to Sir Henry Capel, my Lord Essex's Brother, and did assure his Honour, that would his Circumstances have enabled him, to be at the Charge of coming into England, he would soon come to England, and do my Lord's Family all the Service, within his Power, in relation to his Lordship's Death - - - But if Sir Henry Capel would remit him Money to furnish him with what was necessary for such his return into England, he would (soon after such Remittance) come to London, and wait upon his Honour. Sir Henry Capel shew'd me this Letter, and then declared that he would remit to *Bomeny* a Sum sufficient for his coming into England. But I then told Sir Henry Capel, that *Bomeny* had liv'd in France, for several Years, a *profess'd Papist*, and

might therefore be presum'd to be under the Direction of his Priest; and I could never believe, that any Romish Priest, would permit *Bomeny*, to make a full Discovery of my Lord's Murder; seeing such a Detection would be very destructive of the Popish Interest. But Sir *Henry* declar'd he would Remit the Money, and run that hazard. And Sir *Henry* did afterwards tell me that he did remit *Bomeny* the Money accordingly. But after that Remittance, Sir *Henry Capel* never heard of either *Bomeny*, or Money remitted. I shall now give some Account of one *John Holland*, who, to an intimate Friend, had declar'd that he was one of those who cut my Lord of *Effex's* Throat, and that it was done with a very large Knife, and he did then inform his Friend, how he came to be engag'd in that Service, and the Relation which *Holland* then gave, was (in Substance) as followeth (*viz.*)

“ *Holland* some short time before my Lord's  
 “ Death, waiting upon a certain great Lord,  
 “ and then a Minister of State, and in whose Family he had for some time been a Servant,  
 “ his Lordship seem'd very much discompos'd -  
 “ Whereupon *Holland* then told his Lordship,  
 “ that if his waiting upon his Honour, had so  
 “ discompos'd him, he would immediately withdraw. No, said his Lordship, I am not  
 “ angry with you; but am very much concern'd  
 “ to think, that of the many-Servants, whose  
 “ Fortunes I have rais'd, there is not one of them,  
 “ whom I can Trust, or that will serve in such  
 “ an Affair, wherein I would employ him (or  
 “ words to that Effect. Whereupon *Holland*

“ de-



“ declar’d to his Lordship, that he would *faith-*  
 “ *fully* and *punctually* obey his Lord’s commands,  
 “ in whatsoever was within his power to per-  
 “ form. Whereupon that Lord discover’d to  
 “ *Holland* the design’d Death of the Earl of *Essex*,  
 “ and would have *Holland* to be therein princi-  
 “ pally concern’d; to which the said *Holland*  
 “ readily consented; and *Holland* declar’d that  
 “ they cut the Lord of *Essex*’s Throat, with a large  
 “ Knife, for that purpose bought - - - And  
 “ *Holland* did farther inform his Friend, that  
 “ some People had been made away, for prat-  
 “ ing of what they knew, in relation to my  
 “ Lord’s Death, lest they should make a discove-  
 “ ry of my Lord’s Murder.

“ This very *Holland* was afterwards the prin-  
 “ pal Person concern’d, in contriving, and rob-  
 “ bing one Doctor *Gatford*, to the value of some  
 “ Hundred of Pounds. For which Robbery  
 “ the said *Holland*, and Doctor *Gatford*’s Maid,  
 “ and one *Davis* were committed to *Newgate* - - -  
 “ But whilst *Holland* was there a Prisoner, he  
 “ was very Merry, and was almost daily visi-  
 “ ted by that Noble Lord’s Secretary, who  
 “ had (as before-mention’d engaged *Holland*  
 “ in my Lord’s Murder - - - And notwith-  
 “ standing *Holland* well knew, that the Evi-  
 “ dence against him for that Robbery was ve-  
 “ ry full, and that he had just cause to believe  
 “ he should be convicted. Yet the said *Holland*  
 “ told some of his most intimate Acquaintance,  
 “ that he was sure not to suffer as long as my  
 “ Lord - - - hath any Interest at Court.  
 “ And that he was farther assur’d, that he should  
 “ never

“ never want Money as long as that Lord liv’d.  
 “ And that his Lordship had sent him Sixteen  
 “ Guineas, as soon as he heard of his Com-  
 “ mitment to *Newgate*.

“ Major *Richardson* (then Keeper of *Newgate*)  
 “ did inform the Lords of the first General Com-  
 “ mittee appointed to inquire into my Lord’s  
 “ Death, that when he (the said *Richardson*) was  
 “ told, by his under Keeper, that such a Lord’s  
 “ Secretary, did almost daily visit this *Holland*,  
 “ and, as *Holland* boasted, by his Lordship’s or-  
 “ der, and furnish’d him with Money whilst  
 “ *Holland* was Prisoner for the said Robbery.  
 “ That the Major told that Secretary, that his  
 “ Lordship’s Honour was expos’d, by appear-  
 “ ing so much concern’d, for such a Villain, a  
 “ greater than which I never had (said the Ma-  
 “ jor) in my Custody, since Keeper of this Place.  
 “ But that Secretary then pretended, that his  
 “ Lord was much concern’d for *Holland*, be-  
 “ cause the said *Holland* had, for some time  
 “ waited upon his Lordship’s eldest Son. Upon  
 “ the Tryal of *Holland*, *Davis* and the Servant  
 “ Maid, for this Robbery, by the Evidence it  
 “ appear’d, that *Holland* had debauch’d the Maid,  
 “ and afterwards prevail’d with her to consent  
 “ to the Robbing of her Master of all the  
 “ Doctor’s Plate and Money (then in the House)  
 “ and what else was easily portable and valu-  
 “ able. And that this *Holland* did also pre-  
 “ vail with the said *Davis* (who was a Gentle-  
 “ man’s Son) to be concern’d in the Robbery.  
 “ Upon the Tryal, all those three, (*viz.*) *Hol-*  
 “ *land*, *Davis* and the Maid-Servant were con-  
 “ victed



“ victed. And, notwithstanding, upon that  
 “ Tryal, it plainly appear’d, that this *Holland*  
 “ was the Principal Contriver of that Robbery,  
 “ and that his other two Accomplices, were by  
 “ *Holland* prevail’d upon to be his Co-adjuters  
 “ in that Robbery. Yet this principal Author,  
 “ and Actor therein, was pardon’d, and his two  
 “ *under Strappers*, were executed, for the same.

“ And when Doctor *Gatford* found, that *Hol-*  
 “ *land*’s great Interest at *Whitehall* had procur’d  
 “ his pardon. The Doctor then (in an after  
 “ Sessions) mov’d the Court, at the *Old-Bayly*,  
 “ that he might Charge the said *Holland* with an  
 “ Action, for what he had robb’d him. Which  
 “ being granted, *Holland* was accordingly charg’d  
 “ with an Action of some Hundreds of Pounds,  
 “ at the said Doctor’s Suit. Whereupon *Holland*  
 “ remov’d himself to the *King’s-Bench* Prison;  
 “ from whence (in Term time) he had liberty  
 “ to go Abroad with a Waiter, and one *John*  
 “ *Waytis* (then a Waiter, belonging to the  
 “ *King’s-Bench* Prison) did generally attend upon  
 “ *Holland*, when he went Abroad upon his  
 “ Rule. And that very *John Waytis* hath Sworn,  
 “ that, he did often go with *Holland* to my L - - ,  
 “ and as soon as *Holland* sent his Name to his  
 “ Lordship, he was immediately admitted; and,  
 “ upon coming from his Lordship, he did (several  
 “ times) show the said *Waytis*, many Guineas,  
 “ which the said *Holland* pretended his Lord-  
 “ ship had given him. Whereupon the said  
 “ *Waytis* ask’d *Holland*, HOW that Lord came  
 “ to be so kind to him? Whereupon the said  
 “ *Holland* answer’d (with his usual (Phrase)  
 “ *Damn*

“ *Damn him, I HAVE DONE THAT FOR*  
 “ *HIS LORDSHIP, THAT HE DURST*  
 “ *NOT DO OTHERWISE.*

“ And the said *Waytis* did farther depose, that  
 “ one Day telling the said *Holland*, that it was  
 “ *whisper’d about, that the Earl of Essex was*  
 “ *Murdered*, the said *Holland* then said, *Damn*  
 “ *him, it was not a Fartbing matter, if Twenty*  
 “ *such, were so taken off.*

“ He that thought Twenty such as my Lord  
 “ ought so, to be taken off, would not much boggle  
 “ at the being concern’d in the Murdering of one.

This *Holland* was afterwards concern’d with another, in the Murthering an Officer of the Compter of London, for which Murder; *Holland* and his *Accomplice* fled beyond Seas. And there-upon they were both prosecuted to an Out-lary for that Murder. But whether this *Holland* be now living I cannot tell.

I shall now contract the material Proofs before mention’d, to prove that this great Patriot was barbarously Murdered. But I shall first give a brief Relation, of what was sworn before the Coroner by one of my Lord’s Warders and Servant, to prove the (pretended) Self-murder. And the Substance of their Evidence, declares, that a Razor was deliver’d to my Lord to pare his Nails, that with that Razor he retir’d into his Closet, and lock’d his Closet-door, and less than Half an Hour after that, the Door was open’d, and my Lord’s Body there found, with his Throat cut, and that Razor lying by the Body. But if it appear, that what was thus Sworn, to prove my Lord Felo-de-se, is an INTIRE FORGERY, through-  
 out,



out, **THAT ALONE** will be sufficient to prove this barbarous Murder: For

*No Man ever swore a premeditated LYE, when a TRUTH would serve his Turn — And*

*No Man ever swore a premeditated Lye; but to conceal some material Truth. If therefore what was as before Sworn, to prove the pretended Self-murder, be a premeditated LYE throughout - - - THAT LYE was then Sworn to conceal those material Truths, which, If discover'd, would have prov'd this barbarous murder.*

That those *Warders* and *Servant*, who would have prov'd my Lord *Felo-de-se*; have, for that purpose, Sworn what is *false*, in every material Part of their Evidence, doth plainly appear from this one *Consideration*, or *Maxim* relating to Proofs, (*viz.*)

*When two or more, who pretend to be Co-witnesses, to a Fact, shall CONTRADICT one another, in some material Circumstances, relating to that Fact, those Contradictions strongly conclude, that they have Sworn falsely - -*

Now my Lord's two Warders and Servant have materially contradicted each other, in their Proofs, for the (pretended) Self-murder: This plainly appears by comparing what they have Sworn, or declared in relation thereunto. For

*Bomeny* first swore, that he deliver'd to my Lord this Razor about Eight of the Clock in the Morning my Lord dy'd; but within an Hour after that, *Bomeny* in his second Information, swares, that he deliver'd this Razor to my Lord on *Thursday*, being the day before his Lord's Death - - And

R

*Monday*

*Monday*, one of my Lord's Wardens, on the day my Lord dy'd, declar'd to some of his Acquaintance, who have Sworn it; that he, first standing Warder at my Lord's Chamber-door, the Morning on which he dy'd, saw my Lord have this Razor in his Hand, and therewith scraping his Nails, as soon as my Lord's Chamber-door was open'd, and *two Hours* before *Russel*, that Morning, stood Warder at my Lord's Chamber-door - - But

*Russel* hath Sworn that he standing Warder, at my Lord's Chamber-door after *Monday* went down Stairs, saw *Bomeny* deliver this Razor to my Lord, *not half an Hour* before they found my Lord dead in the Closet.

Those contradictions (relating to the delivery of this Razor to my Lord) strongly prove, that no such Razor was deliver'd to my Lord, whilst a Prisoner in the *Tower*.

I shall in the next Place observe the Contradictions of those Witnesses for the pretended *Self-murder*; as to the first opening the Closet-door, after my Lord's Death: For

*Bomeny* first swore, that about half an Hour after he deliver'd to my Lord this Razor, he came up to my Lord's Chamber, and my Lord being in the Closet, *Bomeny* knock'd at the Closet-door, calling several times My Lord! My Lord! but he not answering. *Bomeny thereupon pushed the door a little open, and then saw his Lord lying all at length on the Ground in his Blood, and the Razor near him on the Ground - - - But*

*Bomeny* in his second Information, which (with the Assistance of his Tutors) he writ in the Room



Room next to the Coroner's Jury, swears, that after he had several times knockt at the Clofet-door, and my Lord not answering, he took up the Hangings, and looking through the Chink, he saw blood, and part of the Razor. Whereupon he call'd the Warder *Russel*, *who did then first push the Door open* — But

*Monday* declared (the day my Lord dy'd before two of his Friends who have Sworn it) that my Lord's Body lay so close to, and heavy against the Clofet-door, that neither *Bomeny* nor *Russel* could open the Clofet-door, but that he being much stronger than either of them, did put his Shoulders against the Door, and thrusting with all his Strength, he remov'd the Body, and push'd the Door open — Whereas

*Russel* hath Sworn, that he *first open'd the Clofet-door, the Key being on the outside*, and mentions no difficulty therein, from my Lord's Body then lying against the Door, as *Monday* pretends —

These *Contradictions*, between these three Witnesses, as to the first opening the Clofet-door, after my Lord's Death do conclude, *that the Clofet-door was not lock'd, when those Witnesses first saw my Lord dead in the Clofet* — But as a farther Proof, that this Clofet-door neither *was*, or *COULD* be lock'd upon my Lord's Body.

Two Witnesses have depos'd, that upon the first discovery of my Lord's Death by his Warders, *to those not privy thereunto*, they ran up Stairs, into my Lord's Chamber, and then saw my Lord's Body lying in the Clofet, but his Legs without the Clofet, and that *Bomeny*, *Monday* and *Russel* then declar'd, *That was the*

*very Posture wherein they first found my Lord dead.*

And whereas it was Sworn before the Coroner, by *Bomeny* and *Russel*, that the Razor was lying in the Closet by the Body, when my Lord's Death, was by them first discover'd—I shall now disprove that Part of their Evidence, and shew, that this Razor was laid by the Body in the Closet, as the *pretended* Instrument of his Death, after my Lord's Assassinate had Murder'd his Lordship, with a large Knife, much fitter for that Vilianous purpose, than this Razor could be—For

Two Witnesses have Sworn, That they saw a *bloody Razor* thrown out of my Lord's Chamber Window [which is *sixteen* Foot distant from my Lord's Closet] before it was discover'd, to any out of that House, that my Lord was dead. And that the Maid, when she carried that Razor up Stairs, into my Lord's Chamber, then cry'd out Murder! Murder! several times, and thereby first discover'd my Lord's Death, to those out of the House. And six Witnesses have Sworn, that those two Informants, related this Matter of the Razor's being so thrown out of the Window, as soon as they, that day, return'd, to their respective Habitations. And the Centinel, who stood at my Lord's Lodgings, confess that he saw the bloody Razor, thrown out. And *Webster* (one of the suppos'd *Ruffins*) confess, that he himself threw it out. And several other Soldiers (then in the *Tower*) have Sworn, that, in the Morning of my Lord's Death, it was generally Discour'd in the *Tower*) that a Razor was  
thrown



thrown out of my Lord's Chamber Window, and carry'd into the House by the Maid, who took it up - - And there were several *great Knotches* in the Razor ; and particularly one *very large Knotch* at the point of the Razor ; Which Knotches were occasion'd, by the Razors falling upon some Stones, when thrown out of the Window. So that after the Maid carried up the Razor to my Lord's Chamber, some of the Confederating Murderers, laid that Razor in the Closet by the Body, and it was then to be given out, *that with this Razor my Lord cut his own Throat.*

I hope every *Impartial* and *Judicious* Reader will find, that I have *disprov'd* every material Part of what was Sworn by *Bomeny* and *Russel*, before the *Coroner*, to prove the pretended *Self-murder*, (*viz.*)

*That there was a Razor deliver'd to my Lord to pare his Nails, that with that Razor he retired into his Close-stool Closet, and there lock'd himself in. That, upon opening that Closet-door, my Lord's Body was there found, with his Throat cut, and that Razor lying by the Body.*

If therefore those two *perjur'd Informants*, before the *Coroner*, have Sworn *falsly*, to charge my Lord with the *Self-murder*, it was Sworn by them, to *protect* themselves, and their *murdering Confederates*, from *Justice* ; for having been *hir'd*, by the *DUKE's AGENTS*, *barbarously to Murder*, first the *Person* ; and then the *Honour*, of that *Great, but unfortunate Lord*. For

*Floyd,*

*Floyd*, the Centinel at my Lord's Lodgings, being taken up, in 1688, as suspected to be privy to my Lord's Murder, did then confess to a Gentleman, and afterwards to the Justice, and after that to the Secret Committee of Lord's, and last of all, whilst a Prisoner in *Newgate*, he confest to an intimate Acquaintance, one *Tempest* a Butcher, that by order of Major *Hawley*, or one of my Lord's *Warders*, he let two or three Men, into my Lord's Lodgings, a little before my Lord's Death, and that Major *Webster*, was one of those Men ; and that they went up Stairs, into my Lord's Chamber, and immediately thereupon, this *Floyd* heard a great trampling, in my Lord's Chamber, and some Noise like the *fall of a Man's Body*. And that, some time after this, *it was declar'd, by my Lord's Warders, that, my Lord of Essex had cut his Throat with a Razor*. But this very Centinel did declare to the above Friend of his, that his said Confession did trouble his Conscience, *for tho' it was all true, yet he should not have confest it* --- This trouble in Conscience, of this Centinel, might probably be occasion'd, by some villainous Oath of Secrecy, and entred into by the Confederating Murderers, (and such as the Gundpowder Traytors had taken) *not to discover any thing relating to that Murder*. And

Whilst these three Assassins (as above let in by the Soldier) were struggling with his Lordship, one *Martha Batscomb*, was, then standing near, and over against my Lord's Chamber Window, and then saw, and heard in my Lord's Chamber, four Men struggling together, and  
heard



heard one, of those four cry out, very dolefully Murder ! Murder ! Murder ! And this last Informant did depose, that she did not go out of Sight of my Lord's Chamber Window, before it was given out, by my Lord's *Warders*, - *that my Lord of Essex had cut his Throat.* And this last Deponent did farther sware, that the day of my Lord's Death, or the day next after that, she did inform one Mr. *Perkins* of what she had (as before related) seen and heard in the *Tower*, and the said Mr. *Perkins* then advis'd her to be therein silent ; least those, who had Murder'd my Lord, might also Murder her, to prevent the Discovery of my Lord's Murder, And the said Mr. *Perkins*, before the Secret Committee, did depose, that the said *Batscomb* did, give him, such a Relation as she hath (as above) Sworn, and that this Informant did then advise her, not to discourse such her Knowledge, relating to my Lord's Death, as long as the Papist Interest was so prevalent at Court, as it did then appear to be.

And by the following Information it will appear, that by *some of the then Duke of York's Agents*, those three Assassins were hir'd to Murder his Lordship. For

It is Sworn by one *Dorothy Smith*, that ten days before my Lord's Death, several Papists met at one *Homes's* House in *Baldwin's Gardens*, with, whom the said Informant was then a Servant, and then and there were over-heard by this Informant to declare, *That the Earl of Essex knew so much of their Designs, and was so very averse to their Interest ; that he must there-*  
fore

*fore be taken off.* And those Papists did then, and there farther declare, that they had been with his HIGHNESS [*the then Duke of York*] and *that his Highness had order'd the Earl of Essex's Throat should be cut, and his Highness had promised to be there, when it was to be done.* And this Informant about six days before my Lord's Death, over-heard (at her said Master's House) some of those very Papists declare, that it was resolv'd, the said Earl's Throat should be cut, but it should be given out, that my Lord did it himself, and if any should assert the contrary, he should be taken up and punish'd for it. And she did farther depose that the day my Lord dy'd, some of those very Papists, met the third time at her said Master's House, and then and there declar'd to her said Master, *that they had that Morning cut the said Earl's Throat, and that they could not but Laugh to think, how like a Fool the Earl of Essex look'd, when they came to cut his Throat.* And this Deponent did farther declare, that soon after the said Earl's Death, she told one Mr. Billinger (with whom she had before liv'd as a Servant) that she was mightily troubled to think, that my Lord of Essex, should be falsly charg'd with Murthering himself, when she had (as above related) heard the Papists declare how, and by whom, the said Murder was contriv'd, and afterwards with great Joy confest by some of those very Ruffins, who did it. But the said Mr. Billinger, then advis'd this Informant, not to discover, what she had as before over-heard, least her talking thereof might occasion her own Death. But this De-



Deponent farther declar'd, that she was very much troubled, that she could not with safety discover this Matter to some Magistrate. But several Persons, in whom this Deponent did put great Confidence, and to whom, in King *James's* Reign, she discover'd what is above by her declar'd, did all of them advise this Informant not to speak of it, whilst the Popish Interest govern'd us, for such her Discourse would be her Ruin - - - Seven Witnesses have depos'd, that in King *Charles's* the Seconds, or King *James's*, the Second's Reign, the said Informant, did, in Substance, relate to them, what, as above was by her heard at *Homes's* House, relating to my Lord's Murder, and that they did advise the said Deponent, not to talk thereof, lest she might thereby both ruin her self, and some others to whom she might make such a Discovery.

And whereas the said *Dorothy Smith*, did depose that she liv'd a Servant with the said Mr. *Homes*, some time before, and continu'd there, till after my Lord's Death. To invallidate this Evidence, one *Dorothy Hewit*, a violent Papist, and Sister-in-Law to the said *Homes*, did depose that the said *Dorothy Smith*, in *April* before my Lord's Death, was turn'd out of that Service, for a suppos'd Theft. And one *Elizabeth Gladman*, (who appear'd to be of a loose Character) did depose, that she, in *April* next before my Lord's Death, came a Servant to the said Mr. *Homes*, and continu'd in that Service, for some time after my Lord's Death. But in Contradiction to those two Informations of *Hewit* and *Gladman*;

eight Witnesses have depos'd (on behalf of *Dorothy Smith*) that the said *Dorothy Smith* was a Servant with the said *Homes* long after *April*, 1683, and continu'd in that Service about the Earl of *Effex's* Death, and some of those have depos'd, that the said *Dorothy Smith* continu'd in that Service, till sometime after the Earl of *Effex's* Death. And whereas the said *Dorothy Smith* did depose, that the day of my Lord's Death, her said Master was at his own House, and *then* and *there* was inform'd by one of the Assassins, that they had, that very Morning, cut the Lord's Throat. To invallidate that part of the said *Smith's* Evidence, the said *Dorothy Hewit*, the Papist, did depose, that, the Week before my Lord's Death, she went into the Country, with the said *Homes*, and staid with him in *Warwickshire*, till the 29th of *July*, 1683. But in contradiction to *Hewit*, a Taylor hath depos'd before the Secret Committee, that in *July*, 1683, he liv'd very near to the said Mrs. *Hewit*, and that the very Week my Lord dy'd, he carried to the said Mrs. *Hewit*, a Dust-Gown, which he then made for her, and then try'd it on, at her House, and the said *Dorothy Hewit* then [the very Week my Lord dy'd] told this Deponent, that she, with her Brother *Homes* was shortly to go into the Country. But how long after my Lord's Death, the said *Hewit* continu'd in the Town, before she took the Journey, the said Informant could not tell. And this Informant did then produce before the Secret Committee, his Day-Book, wherein it did appear, that the Dust-Gown,



Gown was deliver'd to the said *Hewit* about the End of that Week my Lord dy'd. And that Informant did depose that Entry was true. And the said *Homes's* Wife, and the said *Dorothy Hewit* her Sister having heard that this Taylor had given such Information, as aforesaid, they thereupon went to the said Taylors House, and desir'd to see his Book, wherein the said Entry was made; which Book the said Taylor then shew'd them, and then told them, that he had, and could swear that the said *Hewit* was in Town the Week the Earl of *Essex* dy'd. Whereupon the said *Hewit* then told that Taylor, that if he prov'd her then in Town, *he would thereby prove her Brother Homes to be in Town, the day my Lord dy'd, and her Brother would be then hang'd, and his Blood would lye at the said Taylor's Door.*

Note, the said *Homes* was taken into Custody, in King *William's* Reign, some short time after the Discovery of the Assassination Plot. And the said *Homes* was then charg'd with saying, That

*The best way of taking off the Witnesses, that prov'd that Plot, would be to cut their Throats.*

Now the Defence of *Homes*, against the Charge of *Dorothy Smith*, appears to be false, in every material Part of the Defence. And whensoever the Defence of a Criminal appears to be FALSE (as in the Case of *Homes* it appears to be) the same concludes his Charge is TRUE. The Law concludes the same in all Civil Actions, for if the Defendants Plea, be good in

Law, but *false* in Fact -/- And thereupon the Plaintiff and Defendant joyn Issue. If the Jury find the Plea to be *false*, they must then find for the Plaintiff, and the Court must thereupon give Judgement accordingly.

And as a farther Confirmation of *Dorothy Smith's* Evidence, as to the *Dukes* resolving, even *before* my Lord's Commitment, that his Lordship's Throat should be cut. It was depos'd before the Secret Committee, that in the Morning, on the 11th of *July*, 1683, which was the very Morning next, after my Lord's Commitment, it was reported at *From* in *Somersetshire*, an *hundred Miles* from *London*, that the Earl of *Effex* had cut his Throat in the *Tower*. And it was likewise Sworn, before the Secret Committee, that on the said *Wednesday* Morning, being the 11th of *July* 1683, it was reported at *Andover* (about sixty Miles from *London*) that the Earl of *Effex* had cut his Throat in the *Tower*, *when the King and Duke of York were in the Tower*. Whereas the King and Duke did not go to the *Tower* until the *Friday* after this report at *Andover*. But this report, at *Andover*, the next Morning after Lord's Commitment, and two days before my Lord's Death, that this Lord had cut his Throat in the *Tower*, *whilst the King and Duke were there*, doth prove, that the then *Duke of York*, even before my Lord's Commitment, had resolv'd, *That by some Artifice*, he would prevail with his then Majesty to go with his *Highbness* to the *Tower*, that very Morning, when the Earl of *Effex's* Throat was to be cut. And it seems very probable, that



that ONE of the Designs, which the Duke had by the King's being THEN *in the Tower*; was to make, the said three Assassins, and all his under Murdering Confederates, to *believe*, that even the *King himself*, as well as his Royal Highness, had order'd the said Earls Throat to be cut. And the Duke well knew, that *such a Belief* in his Under-Tragical-Agents, would give them the greater Encouragement to be concerned, in this *treacherous and barbarous Murder*. But, in Justice to the Memory of King Charles the Second, I shall give the Reader good Grounds to believe, that his Majesty, was altogether *ignorant* of that design'd and barbarous Murder.

In short, *Eight Witnesses* have depos'd before the Secret Committee, that before my Lord's Death, it was reported, in several Parts of *England*, That the Earl of Essex had cut his Throat in the Tower. Which many Reports, previous to my Lord's Death, that the Earl of *Essex* had cut his Throat in the Tower, must *original-ly* be occasion'd, by some Correspondence of the Confederating Murderers in *London*, with their *Country Confidants*; whereby those bloody Country Zealots were inform'd, that it was resolv'd my Lord of *Essex's* Throat should be cut in the Tower, whilst my Lord *Russel* was trying for his Life, at the *Old-Bayly*, but given out, as done by himself, and then should be carried to the *Old-Bayly*, and then and there us'd by the King's Council, as the *strongest* Argument of Guilt in my Lord of *Essex*, in that (pretended) treasonable Conspiracy, wherein that unfortunate Lord,  
and

and the Lord *Russel*, then at the Bar, were accus'd as *Accomplices*. And this Report, before my Lord of *Essex's* Death, was probably occasion'd, by the putting off my Lord's *Russel's* Tryal, from *Monday* the 9th of *July*, to the *Friday* then following. And those Country Popish Correspondents, believing that my Lord *Russel* was try'd, when his Tryal was first order'd and that my Lord of *Essex's* Throat, was then cut, and being too big with that (to them) agreeable News, and willing to oblige their Friends therewith did therefore report (two days before my Lord's Death) that the Earl of *Essex* had cut his Throat in the *Tower*.

And as a farther Argument of my Lord's being Murder'd, and by the then Duke of *York's* order. It is farther Sworn by three Witnesses before the Secret Committee, that *Robert Meak*, a Soldier in the *Tower* that Morning my Lord dy'd, about two of the Clock, that very day, did, in *Duke's Place*, declare, that, whereas it was given out, that the Earl of *Essex* had cut his own Throat in the *Tower*; The said *Meak* was sure, that noble Lord was barbarously Murder'd, by the Duke of *York's* order: For (said *Meak*) those Ruffins, who Murder'd, my Lord, were seen to go from the Duke, to that Lord's Lodgings, a little before my Lord's Death.

But the said *Meak*, the very next day after my Lord's Death, did desire those three Informants, to whom *Meak* had made such Discovery as aforesaid) not to mention what the said *Meak* had so declar'd to them: For (said *Meak*) if it should be known, by any of our Officers, that



I have discover'd so much, relating to my Lord's Death, I shall be undone; for, this very Morning, our Captain call'd several of us Soldiers together, and charg'd us, upon pain of Death, not to discover, what we had *seen*, or *heard*, in *Contradiction* to my Lords *Self-murder*.

*Note*, If I was then rightly, of the Name of that Captain of the Guard, who commanded the Soldiers to this Silence - - That very Captain, was afterwards made a LORD, by King *James*,

And sometime after *Meak* had made such discovery, of my Lord's Murder, he told those three Informants, he was afraid that very day he should be Murder'd, for what he knew, relating to my Lord's Murder: For (said *Meak*) I have this day observ'd, that I am dog'd, by two or three strange and suspicious Fellows. And the said *Meak*, the very next Morning after that, was found dead in *Tower-Ditch*, and just over-against the said Major *Webster's* House, which stood very near that Ditch.

And *Meak* was not the only Soldier, who, the very day of my Lord's Death, so freely discours'd of my Lord's being *Murder'd*. For one *Ruddle*, another Soldier in the *Tower* that Morning my Lord dy'd (in *Badlwin's-Garden* by *Holbourn*) did Report to some Friends, who before the Committee have Sworn what *Ruddle* then declar'd (*viz.*) That *the Lord of Essex, was that day, most barbarously Murdered*, by the Duke of *York's* order: For (said *Ruddle*) those Ruffins, who Murder'd my Lord, I saw go from the Duke to my Lord's Lodgings a little before my Lord's Death,

Death, and whilst that Duke continu'd at some distance from the King; and the Duke did not return to his Majesty, until his Highness had notice of my Lord's Death. And the said *Ruddle*, then declar'd, that he did believe, that so barbarous, and bare-fac'd a Murder, was, ever before that time, in *England* committed.

And the said *Ruddle* was afterwards sent a Soldier to the *East-Indies*, and at *Fort St. George*, was shot to Death. But for what Cause he was shot, I could never be inform'd.

And one *John Holland* confest to a Friend, that he himself was engag'd by the Lord - - - to be concern'd in cutting the *Earl of Essex's Throat*; and the said *Holland* told that Friend, That *several Persons had been made away, for blabbing what they knew, relating to the Earl of Essex's Death.* And sometime after my Lord of *Essex* was Murder'd, the said *Holland* prevail'd with a Maid-Servant, belonging to one *Dr. Gatford*, to be concern'd with him, the said *Holland*, and one *Davis*, in robbing the said *Dr. Gatford*, her Master, for which Robbery, the said *Holland, Davis*, and that Servant-Maid, were condemn'd. But, notwithstanding upon that Tryal, it did appear, that *Holland* contriv'd, and drew that *Davis*, and the Maid-Servant, into that Robbery; yet by my Lord's - - - Interest, that *Holland*, was pardon'd, when his two *under-Agents*, were both Executed. And whilst that *Holland* was in *Newgate*, for that Robbery, he was very chearful, and told his Friends, that he was sure *not to suffer*, as long as my Lord - - - had any Interest at Court. And *Holland*



*land* brag'd, that his Lordship's Secretary by his Lordship's order (almost) daily visited him, and supply'd him with Money. And after *Holland* had been pardon'd, for that Robbery, he did very often wait upon my Lord - - - and as soon as he sent his Name to his Lordship, he was immediately admitted; and when he came from his Lordship, he would often shew to one *John Waytis*, his Friend, then with him, many Guineas, which *Holland* pretended, that Lord had given him. And when that *Waytis* ask'd *Holland*, HOW his Lordship came to be so kind to him. *Holland* swore, that *he had done THAT THING, for his Lordship, that he DURST NOT do otherwise.* And when that Friend told *Holland* that it was Whisper'd about, that the Earl of *Essex* was murder'd. *Holland* swore, it *was no Matter, if twenty such Rogues, as Essex were So taken off.*

An other Argument of my Lord of *Essex*'s being Murder'd, was the illegal proceedings of those Confederating Murders, to prevent the Coroner's-Jury, of being rightly inform'd of some things very Material relating to my Lord's Death. For notwithstanding King *Charles* the Second, *then in the Tower*, upon his being first inform'd of my Lord's Death, which was a few Minutes after my Lord's Death was first discover'd to those out of my Lord's Lodgings, did command my Lord *Arlington*, Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, and *Thomas Howard*, Esq; to go immediately to my Lord's Lodging's, and from his Majesty, to command, that my Lord's Body should remain in the same posture wherein it was

first found, until the Coroner's-Jury had sat upon the Body. And that my Lord's Warders, and Servants, permitted to attend his Lordship, might be secur'd, and by those three Gentlemen, (as above sent by the King, examin'd. But there was an Authority by **SOME BODY**, to contradict these Commands of his Majesty. For as soon as Sir *Christopher* had begun to take those Examinations, there came a Messenger (who pretended to come) from the King, to command Sir *Christopher* to go immediately to the *Old-Bayly*, (where the Lord *Russel* was then a trying for his Life) and gave the Attorney General notice that the Earl of *Effex* had cut his Throat. But Sir *Christopher* told that Messenger, that as soon as he had taken those Examinations, which the King himself had commanded him to take, he would go to the *Old-Bayly*. But the same Messenger soon came the Second time, and (pretended to come) from the King, to command Sir *Christopher* *instantly*, to go to the *Old-Bayly*, and to leave those Examinations to be taken by some others. Upon this repeated command (which was pretended to come from his Majesty) in *contradiction* to what the *King himself* had just before commanded to be done, Sir *Christopher* went to the *Old-Bayly*, and *then* and *there*, gave an Account of his Lord's Death. But Sir *Christopher* depos'd, that he could not recollect, **WHO** that Messenger was, which twice came to him, to *countermand*, as *from the King*, what the *King himself* had, just before, commanded Sir *Christopher* to. And notwithstanding the *King* had commanded, that my Lord's Body should re-  
main



*main in that posture wherein it was first found dead, until the Coroners Jury, had sat upon the Body. The Confederating Murderers, acted contrary to that command, for the day my Lord dy'd, his Body was strip'd, and his Cloaths carry'd away, and when the Coroner's-Jury, the next day sat, and desir'd, to see the Cloaths, in which my Lord was first found dead. This Request of the Jury being over-heard by some in the next Room, the Coroner was call'd into that next Room, and after some short time return'd to the Jury, and in a Passion told them, they were to sit upon the Body, and not the Cloaths, the Body they had seen, and that was sufficient.*

And when one of the Coroner's Jury ask'd *Bomeny* my Lord's Servant, whether his Lord was not esteem'd a good Man? The said *Bomeny*, then answer'd, that his Lord was as good a Man as liv'd. Whereupon that very Jury-man declar'd, *that my Lord could not then be guilty of Self-Murder.*

But Major *Hawley* being then with the Jury, told the Jury, That *whosoever thought Self-murder to be unlike my Lord of Essex, did not know my Lord's Principles; for all Men, well acquainted with his Lordship, knew, that my Lord of Essex justify'd Self-murder, when a Man was in danger of suffering Death. by an infamous Punishment.* This being Sworn, before the Secret Committee, by some of the Jury. The Lords of the Secret Committee, did ask Major *Hawley*, *how he came to know that my Lord of Essex, did, in such Cases, as aforesaid, justify Self-murder?* The Major did then solemnly declare, that he

never heard, till a long time after my Lord's Death, that his Lordship's did, in any Case justify Self-murder, and therefore he could not be guilty of making such a Suggestion to the Jury. Besides, the Major did then farther declare to their Lordship's, That he was not near the Jury, at that Publick-House, where they did consider of their Inquisition. But the Major had given that Jury repeated occasions to remember, that he was with them, at that Publick-House, whilst they were considering of their Inquisition, and that the Major, did then and there hurry the Jury into their Inquisition, much sooner than otherwise they should have finish'd their Inquiries, relating thereunto. For when some of the Jury perceiv'd, that none of my Lord's Relations, or Friends, did then appear, to prove any thing, on behalf of his Lordship. Some of those Jurymen have depos'd before the Committee that they did move, they might Adjourn their Inquiries, to some farther day, and send Notice thereof to my Lord's Relations; so that if his Lordship's Relations, or Friends, could prove any thing, in contradiction to the *Self-murder*, they might be heard by them, before they finish'd their Inquiry. But Major Hawley, then prevented that Adjournment, by telling the Coroner, and the Jury, That his Majesty had sent an Express for their Inquisition, and that his Majesty was then in Council, and had declared, that he would not leave the Council-Board, till that Inquisition was brought to him. The Lords of the Secret Committee, upon hearing this Sworn before them, did ask the Major, WHO that Man was,



*was, that thus pretended to be sent by his Majesty, for this Inquisition? Whereunto the Major made Answer, that he never heard, that his Majesty had ever sent such an Express, for that Inquisition, and that he himself could not Suggest the same to the Jury; because he was not near the Jury at that Publick-House all the time they did there consider of their Inquisition.*

*Note, all that Jury, well knew Major Hawley, and all of the Jury, who were Examin'd upon Oath before the Secret Committee, did depose, that they did well remember, that the Major was with them, at that Publick-House, and some of the most substantial, and most sensible Men, of that Jury have deposed, against the Major, what is above mention'd, by the Major to be Suggested to the Jury.*

*Had that Jury, but view'd my Lords Right Hand, who was cover'd with a Sheet, as well as his Throat, which was cut, from that Hand only, they might have had sufficient Evidence, that my Lord was Murder'd. For there were FIVE CUTS in my Lord's Right Hand, (viz.) one upon his Fore-Finger, near the Top, another on the same Finger, near the Hand, a third Cut upon the fourth Finger, a fourth Cut in the little Finger, and a fifth Cut about two Inches long in the Palm of my Lord's Right Hand. But least the Jury might observe those Cuts; my Lord's Hands were cover'd with the Sheet, and after the two Surgeons had view'd the Cut, in the Throat, and the Jury had seen the same, the Jury were immediately adjourn'd, from my Lord's Lodgings, to a Publick-House in the Tower, where they were (as before related) hurry'd into their Inquisition.*  
But

But had the Jury observ'd those five cuts in my Lord's Right Hand, they could not believe, they were any otherwise occasion'd, than by my Lord's endeavouring to keep off that murdering Instrument, wherewith those Assassins cut his Throat.

My Lord's Morning Neckcloth was *cut in three Pieces*, and therefore that Neckcloth, so cut, was carried away. But that alone would have prov'd, that the same Instrument, which cut my Lord's Throat, did first cut through that Neckcloth. And this could not be suppos'd to be done, by my Lord himself with the Razor.

There probably might be several other signs of Violence, to have been observ'd from some other parts of my Lord's Cloaths, had those Cloaths, in which my Lord was found dead, been seen by the Jury, but to prevent that discovery, the Cloaths were carry'd away, and when by some of the Jury desir'd to see the Cloaths wherein my Lord was first found dead. That reasonable request was deny'd, and the Deputy Coroner according to the direction of his Managers, then in the next Room to the Jury, tells the Jury, *It was the Body, and not the Cloaths they were to sit upon, and they had seen the Body, and that was sufficient.*

And as the Jury were hurried into their Inquisition, and not suffer'd to make those Inquiries, which were absolutely necessary, in order to the discovery of the *true manner* of my Lord's Death; so were all Informations to be quash'd, which contradicted those before-mention'd false Informations given by *Bomeny* and *Russel* to  
 prove



prove the pretended Self-murder. And therefore when I the sixth day after my Lord's Death did wait upon the then Secretary of State, with some Informations to disprove what was (as before Sworn by *Bomeny* and *Russel*, I was ordered to attend his Lordship the then next Morning with those Informants, which I did accordingly. But *before* I, or either of those Informants, was examin'd, *I was taken into Custody*, and altho' it did appear upon examining these Informants by the King and Council, that the Substance of their Informations they had declar'd some days *before* they either saw, or ever heard of me, and that I did neither *give*, or *promise* those Informants, one *Penny* for their Informations, but I did often desire them to speak nothing but the Truth, yet I was committed to the Custody of a Messenger until I gave Bonds, with Sureties in two Thousand Pounds to appear the then next Term, to answer such an Information as should be exhibited against me. And when, after that, I rid into the Country to inquire after some Reports before my Lord's Death in several Parts of the West, that my Lord had cut his Throat. I was taken up in the Country and sent to *Wiltshire* Jail, from whence I remov'd my self to *London*, by *Habeas Corpus* to be Bail'd but my Lord Keeper *North*, at the Council-Board, did require of me Bonds with very good Sureties, twelve Thousand Pounds for my Appearance, and other Bonds, with other good Sureties in twelve Thousand Pounds more for my good Behaviour. And my Lord Keeper, at the Council-Board, then told me that his Lordship

did

did require of me, as good Men to be bound for my *Appearance*, and *good Behaviour*, as tho' his Lordship was to lend the said *Twenty-four Thousand Pound*, out of his Pocket. I then told that Honourable Board, that I could not give such Bail and Suretiship. But I desir'd their Lordships, then at the Council-Board, that they would be pleas'd to send for several Persons, whose Names and Places of Abode I then gave an Account of, who could prove that it was reported here two days before my Lord's Death, that my Lord of *Effex* had cut his Throat in the *Tower*. But I found their Lordships were not inclin'd, to send for such Informations.

I was after try'd at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, before my Lord Chief-Justice *Jeffery's*, and the rest of the Justices of that Court, and tho' nothing criminal was prov'd against me, yet I ONLY was found guilty of a CONSPIRACY to procure *false Witnesses* to prove that my Lord of *Effex* was murder'd by those in whose CUSTODY HE WAS (contrary to what had been found by the Coroner's Inquest). And those very Men in whose Custody my Lord was, were brought at my Tryal as the Principle Witnesses to prove, that THEY THEMSELVES, did, not Murder his Lordship; but that my Lord himself did cut his own Throat.

Mr. *Hugh Speke*, was try'd with me, and against him was produc'd a Letter, which was taken upon me in *Wiltshire*, which Letter was directed to Sir *Robert Atkins*, then in *Gloucestershire*, and in that Letter, were several Expressions, reflecting upon the Administration of those Times;



Times ; which Letter Mr. Speke then confest he writ. But the then *Attorney General* found that it was not prov'd against me, *That I directly, or indirectly had given, offer'd or promis'd one Penny, to any Person, whom I had discours'd, as to what he, or she knew, relating to my Lord's Death; and that it was prov'd, I desir'd, and charg'd, every Person, from whom I receiv'd any Information, in relation thereunto, to speak nothing but the Truth.* And Mr. Attorney also found, that it was *not prov'd* against me, that I did ever (before my Tryal) say, that the Earl of *Essex* was Murder'd. The Attorney General did thereupon say to the Court and Jury, That

*We need but read the Letter, which Mr. Speke has own'd, and you will say it is TEN TIMES WORSE, than what Mr. Braddon has done. Vide Braddon's Tryal, Pag. 53.*

But my Lord Chief Justice *Jeffery's* then reproved Mr. Attorney, for representing me, *less Criminal, than Mr. Speke.*

But I was found Guilty, not of SUBORNATION, which was never mention'd in my Information, but of CONSPIRING ALONE, to procure false Witnesses to prove, *that the Lord of Essex was Murder'd by those, in whose Custody he was, contrary to what was found by the Coroner's Inquest, ONLY upon the Evidence of one of my Lord's Warders, in whose Custody my Lord then was, and the Information of my Lord's Servant, the then only Servant permitted to attend upon, or speak to his Lordship, and which very Servant and Warder, by their respective Stations, at the time of my Lord's Death, MUST*

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*be privy to it if not acting in that Murder, in case his Lordship was Murder'd by others.*

But nevertheless *this Warder, and that Servant,* were by that Court of *King's-Bench*, admitted as **GOOD WITNESSES**, not only to *clear themselves,* and their *Murdering Confederates*, from Justice, for that Murder; but also to lay the Charge thereof, **ONLY** at my Lord's own Door. And those two Witnesses were farther admitted, to be good Proofs to convict me, as a Criminal, **ONLY** for endeavouring, by lawful Means, to prove this Warder, and that Servant, with their other Murdering Confederates, guilty of my Lord's Blood.

But were **ALL MURDERERS** to receive the like corrupt favourable Protection, and Encouragement, from Judge and Jury. And were all their Prosecutors, to be alike treated, upon the Evidence of such Murderers, as I, in this Case have been treated. All Hireling-Bloody-Bravoes (under such a corrupt Administration) would then be encourag'd to be hir'd, by the bloody MEN, IN GREAT POWER, to cut any good Man's Throat, who did oppose their Arbitrary and Tyrannical Designs. And all Men would be **DISCOURAG'D**, from being their Prosecutors.

The great **PERVERSION** of Justice, in my Prosecution and Punishment, is one great Argument to prove, that no less Power, than that of the then **DUKE OF YORK**, could have prevail'd with the then Ministry, and the Court of *King's-Bench*, to become **SKREENS** instead of **Terrors**, to those Murderers; and **PROSECUTORS,**



TORS, instead of *Encouragers*, to those who would have detected them.

And that the *then* DUKE of YORK, had us'd his utmost Interest in my severe Prosecution and arbitrary Punishment, plainly appear'd, by that Dukes declaring (sometime before my Tryal) to several Noblemen and Gentlemen, that HE would ruin me, if all the Interest he had, could do it, for having been so busy in relation to the late Earl of Essex's Death.

And so far THAT DUKE prevail'd, as to get me to be imprison'd for my Life, had not the Revolution discharg'd me : For

*I was fin'd two Thousand Pounds, and order'd to give Security for the good Behaviour during Life, under which Judgment I continu'd a Prisoner above five Years, before King James went off.*

But the Duke of York had declared before that Judgment given, That, *I should be WHIPT, round Tower-Hill, and then, and there, stand upon the Pillory. And, after that, be whipt, and Pillor'd at some other Places.*

And, those arbitrary Cruelties, had probably been my Fate, had not the *then* KING himself prevented that barbarity : For (since the Revolution) I was credibly inform'd, that

*The very Morning I was to receive my Judgment, the Lord Chief Justice Jeffery's waited upon the King, and desir'd to know, what Corporal Punishment he should inflict upon me. But King CHARLES did then strickly command that Chief Justice, NOT to inflict any Corporal Punishment upon me.*

So that when (upon the Courts giving Judgment against me) some of the *King's*, or rather the DUKES Council mov'd, that I might, besides the Fine, and good Behaviour, be farther *Corporally Punished*, the Court gave them no answer that Motion.

If to *Skreen* the DUKE, I was thus *arbitrarily* treated, by that *corrupt Ministry*, for endeavouring to prove, by circumstantial Evidence, that my Lord of *Effex* was Murder'd, by some hired Ruffins, with the *previty* and *consent* of his Warders and Servant. It was not reasonable to hope, that the *same Ministry* would give the least Encouragement to HIM, who should offer, upon a Promise of Pardon, **POSITIVELY** to *prove* my Lord's Murder upon THAT DUKE. And therefore when a Letter unseal'd, was left with a Bookseller, in *Durham Exchange*, in the *Strand*; but directed for the Countess of *Effex*; wherein it was offer'd, that if her Honour could prevail with the King, to give an Assurance of Pardon to that Author; *He would then prove that the DUKE OF YORK, and - - - had order'd my Lord's Throat to be cut.* But when the Bookseller perceiv'd, that Letter to be unseal'd, he read the same; and finding the Contents thereof, to be of *such an high nature, as* abovemention'd, he did not think it *safe* for him, to carry the same to the Countess of *Effex*, to whom it was directed, but he did immediately carry that Letter to a Justice of the Peace, who did thereupon carry the same, to the *Secretary of State*. But that Bookseller was never sent for by that *Secretary of State*, or was there any *Means us'd,*  
by



*by those then in Power, to find out the Author of that Letter.*

Had my Lord of *Essex* indeed Murder'd himself, or had his Lordship been Murder'd by others, *WITHOUT the Privy of the then Duke of York*, whom that Letter charges as the *PRINCIPAL PERSON*, that order'd that Murder; no probable Means would have been then wanting, nor any Reward thought too little, to discover the Author of that Letter. But the then Secretary of States *stifling* that Letter, is a very strong Argument, *That the Contents thereof was TRUE*, and that the then *DUKE of YORK's Authority and Interest gave Birth to that most perfidious and barbarous Murder.*

The most material Things herein before writ, as Sworn before the Secret Committee of Lords, or some Justices of the Peace, to prove my Lord's being barbarously Murder'd by others, were publish'd in a Discourse, which I printed in 1690, and entitled, *Essex's Innocency and Honour vindicated.* In a Letter to a Friend.

And in that Letter I did endeavour to answer several *Objections*, which in Conversation I had met with, against my Lord's being Murder'd by others. And in particular, in Pages 54 and 55 of that Letter, I did endeavour to answer, what was publicly Discours'd, as to the Countess Dowager of *Essex*, belief, of her Lord's (pretended) Self-murder. And what I had writ, in those two Pages of that Letter, relating to that Belief, was exprest in the Terms following, (*viz.*)  
 “ The

“ The Right Honourable the Countess Dow-  
 “ ager of *Essex*, having heretofore declar’d  
 “ whether lately I cannot say) that she did be-  
 “ lieve her Lord did cut his own Throat; and  
 “ being so possess’d, some time after this Commit-  
 “ tee had several times sat, she desir’d several  
 “ Lords (amongst which some were of this  
 “ Right Honourable Committee) to meet at her  
 “ House, and after her Honour had acquainted  
 “ their Lordship’s with the occasion of her Re-  
 “ quest, an *Eminent Divine* (and now a *Bishop*)  
 “ did inform their Lordships, what were the  
 “ Reasons that mov’d her Honour to believe,  
 “ that her Lord did indeed lay violent Hands  
 “ on himself; the chief if not the only one,  
 “ was, That

*Some short time before my Lord’s Commitment  
 to the Tower, he did seem to be under a great  
 concern of Mind; but then declar’d, that the  
 trouble he was in, did not arise from any Thoughts  
 of Self preservation, for himself was the least of  
 his care; but the Thoughts of his Family, what  
 would, after his Death, become of them, was what  
 did indeed trouble him: As for himself he was  
 resolv’d what to do, several times very resolutely  
 repeating that Expression; as for my self, I am re-  
 solv’d what to do.*

“ This I was told by a Gentleman, who (said  
 “ he) was then present, and, as I have great Rea-  
 “ son to believe, would have represented every  
 “ thing to the best advantage (as far as Truth  
 “ would permit) on the behalf of such Ob-  
 “ jections.



Believing that a Gentleman, who gave me the above Relation, I did then endeavour to answer, what his Lordship was, (as above) said to have declar'd to his Countess, a little before his Commitment, and which was represented to me to make her Honour believe that his Lordship Murder'd himself, and I did endeavour to shew, that Expression.

*As for my self I am resolv'd what to do; which (as I was inform'd) was several times resolutely repeated, might be very well understood to bare a more charitable Construction, than Self-murder. And I did in that Book, put that Interpretation thereupon, which, to me, seem'd not only to be more charitable; but also much more probable.*

But some time after the Publication of that Letter relating to his Lordship's Death, I read in three several *Gazettees* of *July* and *August*, 1690, a Declaration subscrib'd by the Countess and Bishop, in the Words following, (*viz.*)

*Whereas in a Letter to a Friend written by Mr. Laurence Braddon, touching the Murder of the Earl of Essex, an Account is given Page 54 and 55, of some Discourse, that the Countess Dowager of Essex, and the Bishop of Salisbury had upon that Subject, at a Meeting with several Lords; the Countess Dowager, and the Bishop find themselves so much wrong'd in that Relation, that they have thought it became them to disown it intirely, the whole Discourse, fasten'd on them, being false, and nothing to that Purpose,*

*pose, having been, upon that occasion mention'd by either of them.*

24th July.

*E. Essex, Gi. Sarum.*

Notwithstanding the Countess and the Bishop, have herein disown'd, that the Reason, herein before-mention'd to have been given by the Bishop, to those Lords and Gentlemen, at her Ladyship's House, as the Reason, which influenc'd her Honour to believe her Lord did indeed cut his own Throat. Yet it's most certain, that, several Lords and Gentlemen, at her Ladyship's Request, did meet at her House, when and where Dr. Burnet (afterwards Bishop of Sarum did) give those Lords and Gentlemen *some Reasons*, which (that Doctor) then said, did make her Ladyship believe her Lord did Murder himself. But forasmuch as the Countess and Bishop have declar'd, that before my Information, as to those Reasons, *was false*, and seeing I could never learn, what was otherwise declar'd by the then Dr. Burnet, at that Meeting, on behalf of that Belief of the Countess; I cannot answer, what I do not know; neither will I be *implicitly rul'd*, by the Belief of the Countess and Bishop, to the belief of the *Self-murder*, in Contradiction to what is, by so many *Witnesses*, herein before said to be positively Sworn, to prove, that my Lord fell a *Sacrifice*, to Popish *Malice* and *Rage*, for his Lordship's great *Zeal*, for our *Religion, Laws, and Liberties*. The Bishop, in his late History, is pleas'd to say, that for some Years before my Lord's Death, he *knew* me to be an HONEST, but

*Entbu-*



*Enthusiastical* Man. And that Bishop doth farther therein declare, that it appear'd, at my Tryal, that I had charg'd the Boy, to Sign nothing but the Truth, in relation to my Lord's Death.

Now forasmuch as I had declar'd in Page 54 of my former Book, that a Gentleman, had told me, that he was present, with several Lords and Gentlemen, at my Lady *Effex's* House, *when* and *where*, that Bishop, gave the Reason before-mention'd, in Page 54 and 55 of that former printed Letter, touching my Lord's Murder, for her Honours belief of her Lord's *Self-murder*. It was reasonable for me, to have expected, that Justice from the Bishop to have sent for me, before, in three several *Gazettes*, he had endeavour'd to expose me, and to have known of me, from *what Gentleman*, I had receiv'd that which the Countess and Bishop have call'd a *false Information*. Had the Bishop demanded this from me, I should (as in Justice bound) have nam'd my Informer. And I do now assure the Reader, that the Gentleman, who gave me that Information, was generally reputed a Man of great *Learning*, and *Honour*, and therefore *deserving Credit*. He was then a Member of Parliament, and had *serv'd* as Knight of the Shire for *that County*, wherein his Family had liv'd, in great *Esteem*, for many *Ages*. But neither the Countess, or Bishop, either before, or after, the Publication of that Declaration in three several *Gazettes*, did ever desire me to tell them, from whom I had receiv'd my Information. But I am now well satisfy'd, by what the Bishop hath

X

writ,

writ, in his late History, relating to my Lord of *Essex*; that the Countess Dowager of *Essex*; was prevail'd upon by that Bishop's Advice, not to be at all concern'd in the Prosecution of her Lord's Murder. But of this, I shall say much more, when I have related, what the Bishop, in his late History writ, concerning that unfortunate Lord's imprisonment and *Death*: And what that Prelate hath publish'd, in relation thereunto, is contained in the two following Paragraphs of that History, (*viz.*)

In Page 552, *Anno*. 1683.

“ **A** Party of Horse was sent to bring up my  
 “ Lord of *Essex*, who had staid all this  
 “ while at his House in the Country, and seem'd  
 “ so little apprehensive of danger, that his own  
 “ Lady did not imagine he had any concern on  
 “ his Mind. He was offer'd to be convey'd a-  
 “ way very safely, but he would not stir, his  
 “ Tenderness for the Lord *Russel*, was the Cause  
 “ of this: For he thought his going out of the  
 “ way, might incline the Jury to believe the  
 “ Evidence the more for his absconding. He  
 “ resolv'd, as soon as he saw how that went, to  
 “ take care of himself. But when the Party  
 “ came to bring him, he was, at first, in some  
 “ disorder, yet he recover'd himself. But when  
 “ he came before the Council, he was in much  
 “ confusion. He was sent to the *Tower*, and  
 “ there fell under a great *depression of Spirits*.  
 “ He could not sleep at all. He had fall'n be-  
 “ fore that twice, under great Fits of the Spleen,  
 “ which



“ which return’d now upon him, with more vio-  
 “ lence. He had sent by a Servant, whom  
 “ he had long trusted, and who was suffer’d to  
 “ come to him, a very melancholly Message to  
 “ his Wife, *That what he was charg’d with was*  
 “ *true : He was sorry he had ruin’d her and her*  
 “ *Children.* But he had sent for the Earl of  
 “ *Clarendon* to talk freely to him, who had mar-  
 “ ried his Sister. She immediately sent back the  
 “ Servant to beg of him, that he would not think  
 “ of her, or her Children, but only study to  
 “ support his own Spirits, and desir’d him to say  
 “ nothing to the Lord *Clarendon*, nor to any Body  
 “ else, till she could come to him, which she  
 “ was in hopes to obtain leave to do, in a day,  
 “ or two. Lord *Clarendon* came to him upon  
 “ his Message, but he turn’d the Matter so well  
 “ to him, as if he had been only to explain  
 “ somewhat, that he had mistaken himself in, when  
 “ he was before the Council. But as for that for  
 “ which he was clapt up, he said, there was no-  
 “ thing in it, and it would appear how innocent  
 “ he was. So the Lord *Clarendon* went away in  
 “ a great Measure satisfy’d, as he himself told  
 “ me. His Lady had another Message from him  
 “ that he was much easier, especially when he  
 “ found, how she took his Condition to Heart,  
 “ without seeming concern’d for her own Share  
 “ in it. He order’d many things to be sent  
 “ him. *And among other things he call’d, at se-*  
 “ *veral times, for a Penknife,* with which he us’d  
 “ to pare his Nails very nicely; so this was  
 “ thought as he intended for an Amusement.  
 “ But it was not brought from his House in

“ the Country, tho’ sent for. And when it did  
 “ not come, he call’d for a Razor, and said that  
 “ would do as well. The King and the Duke  
 “ came to the *Tower* that Morning, as was gi-  
 “ ven out, to see some Invention about the Or-  
 “ dinance. As they were going into the Barge,  
 “ the Cry came after them, what had happen’d  
 “ to the Lord of *Effex*. For his Man thinking  
 “ he had staid longer than ordinary in his Clo-  
 “ set, he look’d through the Key-hole, and  
 “ there saw him lying dead, his Throat cut, so  
 “ that both the Jugulars and the Gullet were  
 “ cut, a little above the *Aspera Arteria*. I shall after-  
 “ wards give an Account of the farther Inquiry  
 “ into this Matter, which past then universally  
 “ as done by himself. The Coroner’s-Jury found  
 “ it Self-murder, and when his Body was brought  
 “ Home to his own House, and the Wound was  
 “ examin’d by his own Surgeon, *he said to me*  
 “ *it was impossible the Wound could be as it*  
 “ *was, if given by any Hand but his own, for*  
 “ *except he had cast his Head back, and*  
 “ *stretch’d up his Neck all he could, the Aspera*  
 “ *Arteria must have been cut.* But to go on with  
 “ this tragical Day, in which I lost the *two best*  
 “ *Friends I had in the World.*

I presume the Bishop here means, the Lord of  
*Effex*, and the Lord *Russel*, who was that day  
 try’d at the *Old-Bayly*, and found guilty of High-  
 Treason.



In Page 569. Anno. 1684.

The Bishop hath the following Paragraph, relating to that Great but unfortunate Lord (*viz.*)

“ I Past *slightly* over the Suspicions that were  
 “ rais’d upon the Lord of *Effex*’s Death, when  
 “ I mention’d that Matter. This Winter this  
 “ Businefs was brought to Tryal. A Boy and  
 “ a Girl did report, that they heard a great  
 “ Crying in his Lodging, and that they saw a  
 “ bloody Razor flung out at a Window, which  
 “ was taken up by a Woman that came out of  
 “ the House where he Lodg’d. These Children  
 “ reported this confidently, that very day, when  
 “ they went to their several Homes. They were  
 “ both about *ten* or *twelve* Years old. The Boy  
 “ went backward and forward in his Story,  
 “ sometimes affirming it, and at other times  
 “ denying it : But his Father had an Office in  
 “ the Custom-House ; so it was thought he pre-  
 “ vail’d with him to deny it, in open Court.  
 “ But the Girl stood firmly to the Story. The  
 “ simplicity of the Children, together with the ill-  
 “ Opinion that was generally had of the Court,  
 “ inclin’d many to believe this. As soon as  
 “ his Lady heard of it, *she order’d a strict In-*  
 “ *quiry to be made about it, and sent what she*  
 “ *found to me, to whom she had trusted all the*  
 “ *Messages that had past between her Lord, and*  
 “ *her, whilst he was in the Tower.* When I had pe-  
 “ rused all, I found there was not a Colour to  
 “ found any Prosecution on, which she would  
 “ have done, with all possible zeal, if she *had*  
 “ *found any appearances of Truth in the Mat-*  
 “ *ter.*

“*ter.* Lord of *Essex* had got into an odd Set  
 “ of some strange Principles. And, in particu-  
 “ lar, he thought a Man was the Master of his  
 “ own Life, and seem’d to approve of what his  
 “ Wive’s Great-Grandfather, the Earl *Northum-*  
 “ *berland* did, who shot himself in the *Tower*,  
 “ after he was arraign’d. He had also a very  
 “ black Fit of the Spleen. But that time one  
 “ *Braddon*, whom I had known for some Years  
 “ for an *honest*, but *Enthusiastical* Man, hearing  
 “ of these Stories, resolv’d to carry the Matter as  
 “ far as it would go, and he had pick’d up a  
 “ great variety of *little Circumstances*, all which  
 “ laid together, seem’d to him so Convincing,  
 “ that he thought he was bound to Prosecute the  
 “ Matter. I desir’d him to come no more near  
 “ me, since he was so positive. *He talk’d of*  
 “ *the Matter so publickly*, that he was taken  
 “ up, for spreading false News, to alineate the  
 “ Peoples Hearts from the King. He was try’d  
 “ upon it, both the Children own’d that they  
 “ had reported the Matter, as he had talk’d it,  
 “ the Boy saying then that it was a Lye. *Brad-*  
 “ *don* had desir’d the Boy to set it all under his  
 “ Hand, tho’, with that, he charg’d him to writ  
 “ *nothing but the Truth*. This was call’d a  
 “ SUBORNING. And he was fin’d for it in  
 “ two Thousand Pounds. But I go next to a  
 “ Tryal of more Importance.

The Bishop, in the first of the aforesaid two  
 Paragraphs, saith, that before my Lord was taken  
 up, he was offer’d to be convey’d away very  
 safely; but that THIS his Lordship refus’d,  
*out of tendernefs for my Lord Russel; because*



*he thought, that his going out of the way, might incline the Jury to believe the Evidence [against my Lord Russel] for his absconding.*

*Remarks.* It's reasonable then to think, that the same tenderness for that noble *Friend*, should also have hindred my Lord of *Essex* from cutting his own Throat, at **SUCH A TIME**, as that very *Friend* was bringing upon his Tryal for Life; for his Lordship must believe, that such his *Self-murder*, would soon be carried to the *Old-Bayly*; and be *then* and *there* urg'd, by the King's Council, as a greater Argument of guilt, in his Lordship, than his Absconding would have been, and that such his Lordship's suppos'd guilt, would be then misapply'd, by the King's Council, against the Lord *Russel*, then charg'd, as an Accomplice with his Lordship, in a Treasonable Conspiracy. But

*My Lord Bishop, doth farther say, that when my Lord of Essex was sent Prisoner to the Tower, he fell under a great depression of Spirits [so that he could not sleep AT ALL. That my Lord had fall'n, twice before that, under great Fits of the Spleen, which now return'd upon him with GREATER VIOLENCE.*

*Remarks.* All this *Melancholly* Story, did originally come from *Bomeny* himself, for that Fellow (soon after his Lord's Death) did inform *Dr. Burnet*, the late Bishop of *Sarum*, That His Lord did use to be taken with sudden frenzical Passions; and in particular, was seiz'd with one that very Morning my Lord dy'd, not half  
an

*an hour before they found him dead: (For said this Fellow) when my Lord saw my Lord Russel go to his Tryal, he struck his Breast, and said, that he himself was the Cause of my Lord Russel's Misfortune: For had not I (said the Earl) vouch'd for my Lord Howard's Fidelity, my Lord Russel would never have trusted him. And thereupon his Lord went up and down his Chamber, striking his Breast. And in this violent Passion I left him, (said Bomeny) and saw his Lordship no more, till I found him dead in the Closet.*

Dr. Burnet, soon after Bomeny had given him that Information, gave me an Account thereof, when I waited upon him at his House in Brook's-Buildings near Brook's Market, by Holbourn.

*Remarks.* But I did then endeavour to persuade the Doctor, that what Bomeny had thus related of my Lord's (pretended) frenzical Passions, and in particular that Morning he dy'd, *deserv'd no Credit*, but was justly to be suspected, as *forg'd and false*, to give Countenance to the Self-murder. For Bomeny's constant Attendance upon his Lord in the Tower, did render him *knowing of* what was done TO his Lordship, as well as BY his Lordship, just before his Death. *If therefore my Lord was Murder'd by others, this Bomeny MUST be privy thereunto, if not an ACTOR therein, And therefore this Judas will say, or swear any thing, he should by his Confederates, be taught, to prove the (pretended) Self-murder; for if he, and Russel could not*  
*perswade*



perswade the World to believe that my Lord Murder'd himself; both those Attendants, and some of their Murdering Confederates, *must expect to be hang'd*, for Murdering his Lordship. The Common and Civil Law, and (I believe) the Laws of all civiliz'd Nations upon Earth will not admit that Man to be a good Witness in a Cause, when it shall be made appear that such a Witness, must GET, or LOOSE, by the Success of that Cause.

But the Bishop will sooner give Credit, to what this Bomeny (with an Halter about his Neck) had inform'd him, as to my Lord's having been seiz'd with (pretended) frenzical Passions, and in particular with one, just before his Death; in order to make the World believe, that, under that Passion, his Lordship Murder'd himself. Than the Bishop will believe what is (as before said to be) Sworn by more than fifty disinterested and credible Witnesses, to prove my Lord's being Murder'd. But my Lord Bishop did not think fit, in this History, to tell the World from whom the Bishop had receiv'd Information, that my Lord of Essex had (before his Imprisonment) twice fall'n under great Fits of the Spleen, which return'd now [whilst a Prisoner] upon him with more Violence. None but this Bomeny, or my Lord's Warders were permitted to come to his Lordship, whilst a Prisoner, and therefore none else could possibly (had the thing been true) give Information, of this Return of a Fit of the Spleen, with more Violence whilst his Lordship was a Prisoner - - - And seeing that Servant and those Warders, must have

*an hour before they found him dead: (For said this Fellow) when my Lord saw my Lord Ruffel go to his Tryal, he struck his Breast, and said, that he himself was the Cause of my Lord Ruffel's Misfortune: For had not I (said the Earl) vouch'd for my Lord Howard's Fidelity, my Lord Ruffel would never have trusted him. And thereupon his Lord went up and down his Chamber, striking his Breast. And in this violent Passion I left him, (said Bomeny) and saw his Lordship no more, till I found him dead in the Closet.*

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expected to have been *hang'd for the Murder of my Lord*, in case those three Attendants could not make the World to believe that his Lordship Murder'd himself. What therefore those three vile Fellows shall say or SWEAR, *deserves no Credit, when contradicted by Multitudes of disinterested and credibly Witnesses, who prove, by many convincing Circumstances* (before particularly related) *that my Lord of Essex was treacherously, and barbarously Murder'd.*

The Bishop saith, That

*My Lord had sent by a Servant whom he had long trusted, and who was suffer'd to come to him, a very melancholly Message to his Wife, that what he was charg'd with was true.*

*Remarks.* I could never yet learn, that any Servant, besides *Bomeny*, was suffer'd to speak to his Lordship, whilst a Prisoner, and by the Bishop's Account, even my Lady her self, had no such liberty, but she was in hopes to obtain it. Now if such a pretended Message from his Lordship, was mediately or immediately by *Bomeny* deliver'd to his Lady, there is just cause to believe, that by those murdering Confederates *Bomeny* was instructed, to send such a Message to my Lady, because *Bomeny* was in no Danger of being detected by my Lady : For *Bomeny* well knew, that my Lord was to be Murder'd, the then next Morning, and that my Lady would never obtain any liberty to see her Lord, whilst a Prisoner in the *Tower*.

This pretended Message from my Lord to my Lady, puts me in Mind of what a Papist (less than two Years since) told me (*viz.*)

That



That he was sure my Lord *Essex's* cut his own Throat, because he was credibly inform'd, that his Lordship, even the day before his Death, had by Message, or Letter, assur'd his Lady, that the then next day he **WOULD** *cut his Throat*.

I could not but Laugh at the Folly of this Informer, either in *believing* such a Story himself, or *thinking* to *impose* the belief thereof upon others. But if *Bomeny's* murdering Confederates, had thought fit, by *Bomeny* to send (as from his Lordship) such a Message to my Lady (as my Informer had foolishly suggested he did send) I do not Question, but *Bomeny* would therein have obey'd their orders; seeing *Bomeny* himself well knew, that the then next day, after such a Message sent, *my Lord's Throat was to be cut*.

My Lord (saith the Bishop) *order'd many things to be sent to him. And among other things he call'd severaltimes for a Penknife, with which he us'd to pare his Nails very nicely. Which not being brought to the Tower, he call'd for a Razor, and said, that would do as well.*

*Remarks.* That *Bomeny* did twice, whilst in the Tower, send to my Lord's Steward for a Penknife, (pretending it was for my Lord) is true: Because that Penknife was to be laid by my Lord's Body, as the pretended Instrument of my Lord's Death. But that Penknife not being brought, before my Lord's Throat was cut, a Razor was therefore pretended to have been given to his Lordship to pare his Nails, and that Razor was laid by the Body in the Closet, as the pretended Instrument of my Lord's

Self-murder. But that this Story of the delivering a Razor to my Lord in the *Tower*, was *forg'd* and *FALSE*; I hope I have sufficiently prov'd, by the many Contradictions herein before observ'd, as to the time of delivering this Razor to my Lord. But that the Penknife was first intended to be laid by the Body, as the pretended Instrument of the Self-murder, appears very probable, not only from *Bomeny's* sending several times for the Penknife, but also even from what *Bomeny* Swore at my Tryal. For when *Bomeny* was there Sworn, my Lord Chief Justice *Jeffery's* ask'd *Bomeny*.

How came your Lord by that unhappy End? Pray?

In Answer to which, *Bomeny*, swears, That his Lord did call several times for a Penknife, to pare his Nails, and he doth not once mention (in the first Paragraph of his Examination at my Tryal) the delivery of any Razor to my Lord; but after, in that Paragraph, he hath several times mention'd the Penknife, he then swears, that he saw his Lord walking in the Room, and picking of his Nails with the Penknife. But my Lord Chief Justice *Jeffery's* knowing what *Bomeny* was to swear, here interrupts him, saying

How? With a Penknife?

Then *Bomeny*, recollecting his Instructions and former Oath saith.

No, with a Razor, which I gave him. *Brad-*  
*don's Tryal*, Pag. 54, 55.

The Bishop saith, That

*When*



*When my Lord's Body was brought home, to his own House, and the wound was examin'd by his own Surgeon, he told me, it was IMPOSSIBLE the Wound could be as it was, if given by any other Hand but his own.*

*Remarks.* This undoubtedly the Bishop believed to be true, from that Surgeons knowledge in Anatomy, tho' the Reasons, which that Surgeon gives, for such his Opinion, is both FALSE and RIDICULOUS, (*viz.*)

*For, (saith that Surgeon) except he had cast his Head back, and stretch'd up his Neck, all he could, the Aspera Asteria must have been cut.*

*Remarks.* Here my Lord's Surgeon seems to deny that the *Aspera Asteria* were cut; whereas the two Surgeons, which viewed the Body in the Tower, Swore, that the *Aspera Arteria* were cut. But admitting they were not cut, the ridiculous part, of this Surgeons Reason, wherefore none but my Lord, could give that cut, consists in saying (to this Effect) *That no Persons whatsoever could hold my Lord's Head, so far back, and stretch'd out his Neck so much, whilst his Throat was cutting, as my Lord himself could do.* Now this is contrary to what was declared (before the Lords of the Committee, by several judicious Physitians and Surgeons, who were great Anatomists. For all those Anatomists told their Lordships of the Committee, that they would positively say that it was impossible for my Lord to cut his Throat through each *Jugular Vein*, even to the Neck Bone, and behind each

*each Jugular Vein, on each side the Neck, as some Judicious Surgeons, who had observ'd my Lord's cut, had reported it to be cut. But this they could be positive in, (viz.) that they never saw any Man's Throat, which was cut by himself, that was so cut. And they did then farther declare to their Lordships, that they did believe, when any Man had cut through one of his Jugular Veins, and the Gullet and wind Pipe, Nature would be so much weaken'd, by the great effusion of Blood, and animal Spirits, that the Felo de se would not have natural strength sufficient, to cut through, and behind the other Jugular, as my Lord's Throat was said to be cut. Besides my Lord Bishop was credibly inform'd, that my Lord's Centinel had confest, the letting in three Men to my Lord a little before his Death, and that thereupon he heard great trampling in my Lord's Chamber, and something fell, or thrown down, like the fall of a Man. And the Bishop was further credibly inform'd, that four Men were seen bustling in my Lord's Chamber, a little before his Death was known, and that one of those four, this Informant heard cry out Murder! several times.*

Now I desire to know, whether two of those Affassins lying on my Lord's Body, and with the additional weight of the third Russian's Body? I say whether two of those three, *thus assisted* with the third Bravoes weight, could not keep my Lord upon his Belly, whilst the third Man  
with



with one Hand pull'd back my Lord's Head, and stretch't out his Neck as far, and as long as it was necessary to be stretch't out, whilst with the other Hand, he cut his Throat, almost round the Neck, as my Lord's was cut. Certainly these Ruffins could *much better give such a cut*, than my Lord *himself* could do it.

*Remarks.* The Bishop was capable (from many proper Vouchers) of giving a *short*, and yet an *Intelligible* Account, of what was prov'd before, at and after my Tryal, relating to my Lord of *Essex's* being barbarously Murder'd. But I never read, so *imperfect* and *confus'd* a Relation, given by an Historian of any considerable Fact, as the Bishop gives (in the second recited Paragraph) of what was prov'd before, and at my Tryal, relating to my Lord's Murder.

For the Bishop knew, that it was Sworn before the Coroner, by my Lord's *Servant*, and one of his *Warders*, (in Substance That,

*A Razor was deliver'd to my Lord to pare his Nails, that he therewith retir'd into his Closet, and Locks the Door, and that being open'd, my Lord's Body was there found with his Throat cut, and that Razor lying by the Body*

The Bishop also knew, that upon **THIS** being Sworn, my Lord of *Essex* was found *Felo-de-se*.

Now the Bishop also knew, that what the *Boy* and *Girl* (by him before-mention'd) had related (the Morning my Lord dy'd) to their respective  
Rela-

lations, was a CONTRADICTION to what was Sworn before the Coroner. For

Those two Children declar'd, That they saw a *Bloody Razor* thrown out of my Lord's Chamber Window, before it was known (to any out of that House) that my Lord was dead, and that the Maid, who took up that Razor, and carry'd it into my Lord's Lodgings, did thereupon first discover my Lord's Death to those out of that House. So that *this Razor*, was NOT *lock'd into the Closet, with my Lord's Body, as Bomeny and Ruffel, had Sworn before the Coroner.*

But I would gladly know, of any Man, who reads ONLY my Lord Bishops, before-mention'd Relation of that Matter, whether he can thereby tell, HOW the two Childrens *seeing a Bloody Razor thrown out of a Window*, did any ways CONTRADICT, what was Sworn before the Coroner to prove the Self-murder. Or HOW that Relation of those two Children (as by the Bishop represented) did any ways tend to *prove my Lord's being Murder'd by others.*

The Bishop (in the second before-mention'd Paragraph) gives a very imperfect and unintelligible Account of my Tryal; and therein saith, that the Boy deny'd (in the Court) his having seen a bloody Razor thrown out of a Window. But saith the Bishop) the Girl stood firmly to the Story. And that as soon as my Lady heard of IT [which must be understood of what was Sworn at my Tryal] *She order'd a strickt Inquiry to be made about IT, and sent what she found to the Doctor, to whom she had entrusted all the Messages that had past between her Lord and her,*  
*whilst*



*whilst in the Tower. When, I saith the Bishop had perus'd all, I found there was not Colour to found a Prosecution on, which she would have done with all possible Zeal, if she had found any appearance of Truth in the Matter.*

*Remarks.* It seems strange to me, that my Lady's Agents, whom she had employ'd in those Inquiries, after what was prov'd at my Tryal, concerning my Lord's being Murder'd, should never discourse me, nor any of those Witnesses by me; then produc'd, relating thereunto. And I do here solemnly declare, that neither of those Agents (and to me known to be such) did ever, after my Tryal, and before the Revolution, discourse me, or (to my knowledge or belief) did they discourse any of my Witnesses, by me produc'd, concerning that Matter. And I can't tell from what other Persons, her Honour could have receiv'd a better Information, than from me, or from some of those Witnesses, as to what was, by them Sworn, relating to my Lord's Death. And I did never here (before this History was publish'd) that any Persons *from my Lady*, had ever made such an Inquiry, as the Bishop here mentions. Neither did I ever speak to my Lady, or to her Son (the Father of the present Earl of *Essex*) in all my Life. But I have now just Cause to believe, by what the Bishop hath before writ, in relation to me; and by the Bishop's treating me, with great Contempt, ever since I renew'd the Prosecution of this Matter in 1688, that this

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Bishop represented me to her Ladyship, and to her Son (the late Earl) as an *Entbusiastical*, and a very *contemptible* Fellow, and from whom no Informations were to be regarded, and therefore it was not fit to discourse me upon that Occasion, or was I by her, or her Son, to be at all consider'd, for what I had *expended*, or otherwise *done* or *suffer'd* before the Revolution, *for endeavouring, by lawful Means, to vindicate his Lordship's Memory, and to wipe off that great Stain upon his Family, from that Infamous* (but indeed false) Charge of *Self-Murder by his Lordship.*

But I must here do that NOBLE FAMILY the Justice to declare, that they were at the Charge of near a *Twelve-Months* Prosecution of this Murder, before the Lords Committees, and several Justices of the Peace, before whom (in the interval of Parliament) several Witnesses were examin'd, in Relation to this Murder. For

UPON the 23d of *February*, 1688, when the first General Committee of Lords met, to inquire into my Lord's Death, and upon whose Lordship's I then attended. The then EARL, but afterwards D U K E of *Devonshire*, was CHAIRMAN, and that *noble Lord*, then declared to their Lordship's, of that Committee, that it was very unreasonable that I, who *had suffer'd* so much, *in Person and Purse*, in the then preceeding Reigns, for endeavouring to *discover* the TRUE MANNER, of my Lord of *Essex's* Death - - Should be at any farther expence in the then Prosecution thereof.

And



And, some short time after this, Sir *Henry Capel* (afterwards *Lord Capel*) the then late Earl of *Essex's* Brother, desir'd me to meet him such a Day and Hour, at Mr. *Wallop's* Chamber in the *Temple* ; where I waited upon him accordingly ; and Sir *Henry* told me, that I should be assisted, with whatsoever Money should be necessary, for a vigorous Prosecution of that Matter, and that I should be *well Rewarded*, for what I had *done*, or *suffer'd*, or *should do*, in the Service of the Family. And thereupon I was supply'd, from time to time, with what Money I desir'd, in about Twelve Months time, in the Prosecution of this Murder, before the Secret Committee of Lords, and some Justices of the the Peace, who, in the Interval of the Sessions of Parliament, had taken several Informations in relation hereunto, and some of those Witnesses were sent for, above an Hundred Miles, some about Seventy Miles, and some Thirty Miles, and they gave several Attendances upon the Lord's Committees, in relation to their respective Informations.

The Bishop saith, *That my Lord of Essex had got into an odd Set of some strange Principles. And (in particular) that my Lord thought a Man was Master of his own Life, and seem'd to approve of what his Wives Great Grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, did, who shot himself in the Tower, after he was arraign'd.*

*Remarks.* Here the Bishop would have the World believe, that my Lord of *Essex*, in some Cases, justify'd *Self-murder*.

I do not think the Bishop himself was the *first Inventor* of this *false Charge* against his Lordship, of justifying Self-murder, because, by what I heard Sworn before the Committee of Lords, I have good Cause to think, that *false Charge was FIRST FORG'D* by my Lord's Confederate Murderers to make the Jury and the World *believe*, that when my Lord cut his own Throat, *his Lordship did only put his own Principles into Practice.*

And here I must beg the Reader's *Patience* and *Permission*, for repeating, what I have herein before declar'd to be Sworn, before the Secret Committee of Lords, relating to this Matter. And I do hereby again solemnly declare, that before that Committee, it was (in Substance) Sworn when I was attending upon that Committee by Mr. *Fisher*, a very Substantial and a very honest Man of the Jury, That

This Jury-man told *Bomeny*, (my Lord's Servant) that he had heard, his Lord was a good Man. Whereupon *Bomeny* declar'd *that his Lordship was as good a Man as liv'd.* Then (reply'd the Jury-man) its very improbable so good a Man, should be guilty of the *greatest Sin*, for (saith the Jury-man) *No Crime can well be greater then Self-murder.*

Hereupon Major *Hawley* then told that Jury-man, that whosoever thought that Self-murder was *unlike* my Lord's Principles, was not well acquainted with his Lordship; for many Gentlemen who were *intimately acquainted* with his Lordship, had often heard his Lordship declare, That any Man might cut his own Throat, or otherwise destroy himself, to avoid an infamous Death.



Death. And therefore (saith *Hawley*) *this Self-murder*, is according to my Lord's avow'd Principles. And that Jury-man did then farther depose, that he (believing this Suggestion from Major *Hawley*) was the sooner inclin'd to believe that my Lord himself had indeed cut his own Throat.

But when their Lordships, of the Committee, ask'd Major *Hawley*, *by whom* had he been inform'd, that my Lord of *Effex* had ever justify'd such a Self-murder? The Major did thereupon solemnly declare to their Lordship's, that, before my Lord's Inquisition was taken, he did never hear my Lord had been of such Principles, and therefore he could not suggest the same to the Jury. And the Major did then also farther declare, that he was not near the Jury, at that Publick House where they did consider of their Inquisition, all the time that Jury was upon that Inquiry.

It is well known to many Gentlemen now living, and that were Men of Conversation about Town a little after my Lord's Death; that it was, in all parts of the City and Suburds, industriously reported, that my Lord of *Effex* had justify'd Self-murder, as lawful, to avoid an infamous Execution. But Major *Hawley's* denying that he did ever Suggest this to the Jury, which is positively, Sworn against him, and then declaring that, never before the taking that Inquisition, did he hear my Lord charg'd with holding such a Principle. *This denial* of the Major, plainly proves, that he was Conscious to himself, that this pretended Principle by him

him charg'd upon his Lordship before the Coroner and his Jury was a false Suggestion, and maliciously invented *LIE*, and *FORG'D* by my Lord's Murdering Confederates, some of which had, before that Jury Sat, therein *preconstructed* the Major, and had *engag'd* him *THEREWITH* to corrupt the Jury, so that they might be the sooner inclin'd to believe, that my Lord did indeed cut his own Throat.

After the Bishop (in the before second inserted Paragraph) had given a *confus'd* and *imperfect* Account of *A Tryal* (without saying whose Tryal) relating to my Lord's Death. And of what two Children (at that Tryal) had Sworn, relating to a bloody Razor thrown out *A Window* (without saying whose Window.) And of what Inquiries the Lady *Essex* had made, in relation to what (at that Tryal) was Sworn, about her Husband's Death. The Bishop then saith.

But *THAT TIME* (which by the Bishop's before Relation only will be understood to be after the Tryal beforemention'd) one *Braddon* whom I (saith the Bishop) had known for some Years, for an *Honest* but *ENTHUSIASTICAL* Man, hearing of those *STORIES* (which most Men understood to signify *ALL the Facts*, which the Bishop in that Paragraph had before related) resolv'd to carry the Matter as far as it would go, and he had pick'd up a *great variety of LITTLE Circumstances*, *ALL* which laid together, seem'd to him so convincing, that he thought he was bound to Prosecute the Matter. I (saith the Bishop) desir'd him, *to come no more near me*, since he was so *POSSITIVE*. HE *TALKED* of the  
Mat-



Matter so *publickly*, that he was taken up for spreading false News, to alienate People Hearts from the King.

*Remarks.* I stand amaz'd HOW the BISHOP (in his Preface to his late History) *could make an humble Appeal to the GREAT GOD OF TRUTH, that* (in his said History he tells *Truth ON ALL OCCASIONS* (and consequently in his two before recited Paragraphs, and in all other Parts of that History; *for to all Parts thereof, that humble Appeal is applicable*) as FULLY and FREELY as upon his BEST Inquiry he was ABLE to find it out.

Now I will not say that the Bishop KNEW several Facts (in the two before recited Paragraphs related as *True*) to be FALSE.

But I am sure he had receiv'd *such Information upon Oath*, as would have made any judicious and imprejudic'd Gentleman to BELIEVE several of those of Facts therein asserted for *True*, to be FALSE.

And (in particular) the Bishop (in the second recited Paragraph) in Substance, saith, That

It was believ'd the Boy's Father, (who had a Place in the Custom-House,) had prevail'd with the Boy, at the Tryal to deny his having seen a bloody Razor thrown out of the Window.

Whereas the Bishop knew that the Father (at my Tryal upon his Sons being Sworn) did in a most solemn manner, *Charge his Son to speak the Truth.* And the Father *did then repeat that solemn Charge to his Son, to speak nothing but the Truth.* Vide Braddon's Tryal, Pag. 17.

And

And the Bishop was also credibly inform'd, that this Son, when Eighteen Years of Age, did depose before the Lord's Committees, that the Reason wherefore he did (at my Tryal) deny his having seen the bloody Razor thrown out of the Window, was; because Major *Hawley*, at whose House my Lord was Murder'd (the Morning of my Tryal) did threaten him, a little before he was examin'd in Court, and told him, in great Rage, that he ought to be whip'd, *once a Fort-night for seven Years following*, for reporting that he saw the bloody Razor thrown out of the Window. And the Boy did depose, That such threatening from Major *Hawley* did make him deny it at my Tryal, lest he should be severely punish'd if he had Sworn it to be true. And the Bishop saith that the Boy went *backwards* and *forwards*, in his Story, sometimes *affirming*, and at other times *denying* it. Whereas the Bishop was credibly inform'd, by the Oaths of the Boy, and his Sister before the Lord's Committees when the Boy was Eighteen, and his Sister, then above Twenty Years old, that the **ONLY REASON** of that Boy's first denying the Truth, of what he had reported, relating to the Razor, was because that Sister (in a threatening manner told him, when Thirteen Years of Age) that he would be hang'd for that Report, and that his Father would be turn'd out of his Place, and all the Family would be ruin'd.

The Bishop saith, that I had pick'd up a *great variety of LITTLE Circumstances*, relating to my Lord's Death.

*Remarks.*



*Remarks.* It had been but *Justice*, to the *True Character* of my Lord of *Essex*, and it had been but *Gratitude* to the Memory of the Bishop's noble *Benefactor*, for the Bishop to have particulariz'd that great variety of (what the Bishops calls) *LITTLE Circumstances*, in Proof of my Lord's being Murder'd; and the Bishop should have left the World to Judge, whether that great variety of *Circumstances*, I had pick'd up, had been little, or *GREAT PROOFS* of my Lord's having been barbarously Murder'd. And, without particularizing the Circumstances (of all which the Bishop had been particularly inform'd, and was well assur'd, they were attested by the Oaths of several credible Informants) HOW could the Bishop make good, that part of his solemn Appeal to the Great God of Truth, that (in Relation to this Matter) he hath *AS FULLY*, and Freely, told the Truth, as he was *ABLE*, upon his *BEST Inquiry*, to find it out.

The Bishop saith, That,

I TALK'D of the Matter (meaning the Proofs relating to my Lord's being Murder'd) SO publicly that I was taken up for spreading False News, to alienate the peoples Hearts from the King; and that I was try'd upon it.

*Remarks.* But the Bishop was credibly inform'd, not from me only, but by what was prov'd at my Tryal, and before the Lord's Committees, That The Thursday next after my Lord's Death, I waited on the then Secretary of State, with the Substance of what could be Sworn, by the beforemention'd Boy and his Mother, in relation to the Boy's seeing a Razor thrown out of my Lord's Chamber Window. And that the Secretary order'd me to attend the then next Morning with those two Informants. And that I did then attend accordingly, and the Secretary being inform'd (when with the

the King in Council) that I did attend with some Witneſſes, purſuant to his Lordſhip's order That I was immediately taken into Cuſtody, by one of the King's Meſſengers, BEFORE either I my ſelf, or either of thoſe Informants (by me then brought to *Whitehall*) were examin'd. And after Examination) I was oblig'd to give Bonds, with good Sureties, in two Thouſand Pounds, to Appear the then next Term - -

So that the Biſhop was *well inform'd*, that I was not then taken up, for TALKING of this Matter; but for obeying the Secretaries order, and for bringing Witneſſes to prove, that a bloody Razor was thrown out of my Lord's Chamber Window, before his Death was known to any out of that Houſe —

The Biſhop alſo *knew* (from my printed Tryal) that it was not then prov'd againſt me, that I ever ſaid that my Lord of *Effex* was Murder'd, or that I did ever ſay any thing, reflective upon the then Government relating thereunto —

So that the Biſhop was very well inform'd, from what was Sworn, at, and after my Tryal, that I was NOT TAKEN UP and Proſecuted for TALKING of that Matter, and ſpreading *false News*, (which the Biſhop hath aſſerted) but for producing thoſe Witneſſes whoſe Information tended to prove, that my Lord of *Effex*, ONE of the TWO GREATEST Benefactors (which the Biſhop ever had) was moſt treacherouſly and barbarouſly Murder'd—HOW then could the Biſhop, call the GREAT GOD of Truth to witneſs, that he did believe, I was taken up and Proſecuted for TALKING of this Matter, and for ſpreading *False News*, when he had read, what was (as above) Sworn, in proof of the CONTRARY thereunto.

I have now concluded the Remarks I have thought fit (at preſent) to make, upon what the Biſhop writ,  
in



in relation to the Earl of *Effex's* Imprisonment and Death. And I shall now make some few *Reflections* upon what one Mr. *Monstephens* Swore at my Tryal. This Mr. *Monstephens*, was *Under-Secretary* to the old Earl of *Sunderland*, when my Lord of *Effex* dy'd. And upon *Thursday* Morning next after my Lord of *Effex's* Death, I went ALONE to the Lord *Sunderland's* Office, with the Substance of what the young *Edwards* and his Mother could swear (relating to the throwing the bloody Razor out of my Lord's Chamber Window) intending to have shewn the same to his Lordship. But my Lord not being then at his Office, Mr. *Monstephens* then told me, that my best time to speak with his Lordship would be about four of the Clock that Afternoon, when I did again go ALONE, the second time, to that Office, where I did again speak with Mr. *Monstephens*, who then told me that my Lord *Sunderland* was then waiting upon Prince *George of Denmark*, at the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth's* Lodgings and that I had best wait there, and deliver those Papers to my Lord—— I told Mr. *Monstephens* I neither knew my Lord *Sunderland's* Person, nor the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth* Lodgings. —

Whereupon Mr. *Monstephens* told me that he would go with me, and shew me those Lodgings, and speak to his Lordship concerning me. And Mr. *Monstephens* accordingly went with me to those Lodgings, and as my Lord *Sunderland* was passing by us, Mr. *Monstephens* told his Lordship I had some Papers to give him — Whereupon I gave his Honour the two before-mention'd Informations, of the Boy and his Mother. My Lord *Sunderland* commanded me to attend him the then next Morning, and to bring those Informants, with me. And the next Morning I did attend with the Boy and his Sister, who could prove what the Mother therein could testify, and the Mother was Sick —— And this was the FIRST time that Mr. *Monstephens* SAW either the Boy or his Sister, with me—— And my Lord being then in the

Council with the KING and Duke of *Tork*, and many more Lords, and his Lordship being inform'd that I did attend pursuant to his Lordship's order I was thereupon taken into Custody, BEFORE myself, or the Boy, or his Sister were examin'd — And what was then and there farther done, relating to me, I have herein before at large related.

But when this Mr. *Monstephens* (at my Tryal) was Sworn, he did DENY, that he saw me at the Dutcheffs of *Portsmouth's* Lodgings on the *Thursday* Evening before-mention'd. And when I then ask'd him whether I was not with him, on the *Thursday* Morning, BEFORE, I brought the Boy, or his Sister — He reply'd

NO, I did not THEN see you there.

I did then desire to know of Mr. *Monstephens* whether he could be *Positive in that*? Whereupon Mr. *Monstephens*, again, reply'd, YES, I will take my Oath again of it — *Braddon's Tryal*, Pag. 23. (Whereas in Fact) I never brought the Boy and his Sister until the *Fryday* Morning, and THAT was the first time Mr. *Monstephens* ever saw either of them, with me — tho' (as before) he did thrice (in Effect) SWEARE CONTRARY thereunto.

NOTE, After my Tryal I was credibly inform'd that this Mr. *Monstephens* brought (in his Pocket) to my Tryal, THAT very Razor, wherewith He pretended my Lord of *Effex* cut his own Throat. And he would THEN have produc'd the same, had it been call'd for — And THIS RAZOR he did often shew, as the pretended Instrument of my Lord's Death — And (if in relation to this Gentleman's SIN (in thrice denying the Truth) and his MISFORTUNE we might argue from Sins to Punishments, his DEATH was very remarkable. For some Years after the Revolution HE CUT HIS OWN THROAT WITH A RAZOR.

But whether with the very SAME RAZOR (which he had kept, and often shewn as the pretended Instrument



ment of my Lord's Death) *I cannot say*: But of this I was very well assur'd, That this very Gentleman, did often in *Newgate* visit *Holland* (before-mention'd as one of my Lord's Assassins) when under Condemnation for a Robbery, and *THEN* many times brought him Money, and great Assurances of a Pardon, which was soon after obtain'd — And I have good Reason too believe, that this Mr. *Monstephens* had receiv'd a credible Information, that this very *HOLLAND* was the MAN, who (with the Assistance of two other Bravoes) cut my Lord's Throat with a *LARGE KNIFE*, and consequently, Mr. *Monstephens* did not believe that the *RAZOR*, by him kept and shewn was the Instrument of my Lord's Death —

I shall now the give Reason wherefore the House of Lords came to no Resolution, as to the MAN-NER of the Lord of *Effex's* Death — And I must here beg leave to repeat *HOW*, and *WHEN* those *Examinations* and *Informations*, taken by the Secret Committee, were brought before the House of Lords, and *what Order* that House *THEN* made relating thereunto.

The 5th of *February*, 1688-9, the four under-written Lords were appointed to be a close Committee to inquire into the Death of the Earl of *Effex*, (*viz.*)

Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Devonshire*, Lord *Morant* and Lord *Delamere*, whose Lordship's were to Meet *when*, and *where*, and as *often* as they pleas'd.

Before this Secret Committee there have been examin'd about sixty Persons ; and some of those Witnesses several times attended when other Occasions prevented the Meeting of *THREE* of their Lordship's, without which, they could not act as a Committee: The then Solicitor General *Somers*, (afterwards Lord Chancellor) and Major *Wildman* (then General Post-Master) were several times present with this Committee, and permitted to ask those Witnesses what Questions they pleas'd, in order to the more full Information to their Lordship's. From

From the 5th of *February*, 1688, to the middle of *May* then following, I believe their Lordships appointed above thirty Meetings; and after they had examin'd above forty Persons, relating to my Lord's Death the Duke of *Devonshire*, being Chairman, deliver'd those Examinations, and Informations to the said Sir *John Somers*, and Major *Wildman*, and desir'd them to draw the Matter up in the Form of a Report, with proper References to each Examination and Information, wherein the Matter of the Report was more fully contain'd.

Major *Wildman* desir'd Sir *John Somers*, that He [the Major] might draw a rough Draught of the Report, and he would then send the same to Sir *John Somers* for his Consideration and Correction. But soon after the Major thus receiv'd those Informations, he was seised with a violent Fit of the Gout, which (for the most part) confin'd him to his Bed until the 22d of that *May*. And in that Month of *May* the King Commission'd the Duke of *Devon*, the Earl of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Delamere* with (Mr. *Wharton* afterwards Lord *Wharton*) to go down into the North, and there to regulate that Part of the Army which had there Mutin'd.—The Earl of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Delamere* and Mr. *Wharton*, went (upon that occasion) out of Town before the 22d of that *May*, and upon that Morning my Lord *Devonshire* sent me, from *Bedford House* in the *Strand*, to Major *Wildman*, and Sir *John Somers* for that Report, and for all those Informations and Examinations, which had been taken by the Committee.

When I came to Major *Wildman*, (at the Post-Office) I found him ill in Bed, and in great pain with the Gout. The Major told me, how he had been (with the Gout) prevented, from drawing up that Report.—Upon my return to *Bedford House* I did acquaint the Duke of *Devonshire* with what the Major desir'd, and the Reason thereof. — But the Duke of *Devonshire* then declar'd, that he had promis'd several Lords, that, before he went into the  
North



North to regulate the Army, he would bring those Examinations and Informations into the House, and therefore he would perform such his Promise, and bring them into the House, without the Form of a Report in relation thereunto. — And thereupon sent me the second time to Major *Wildman*, for those Informations and Examinations; which were deliver'd to Major *Wildman*, without being put into that order, wherein they ought to have been read. — And it being near two of the Clock when I brought them to *Bedford* House, and the Duke of *Devonshire* then in great hast to go to the House of Lords, he carried them into the House, and deliver'd them to Mr. *Walker*, the Deputy Clerk of that House, put up in that disorder, wherein Major *Wildman* deliver'd them to me. And there being above forty of those Informations and Examinations, all which could not, that Afternoon, be read and well consider'd by the House, therefore the House deferr'd the reading of them until the then next Day — And the then next Morning betimes my Lord *Devonshire*, took his Journey into the North, upon the Commission aforesaid. On the 23d of *May*, 1689, those Informations and Examinations, wherein there was great variety of Matter were read in the House of Lords, and but *O N E*, of the four Lords of Committee, THEN in the House (*viz.*) the old Duke of *Bedford*, who was then about Eighty Years of Age. — And those Informations and Examinations were read in no proper order, (*viz.*) Those which related to one Matter, were not *ALL* read, before some others, were read, which had no relation to the Matter of the immediately preceding Informations. — And for as much as none could speak so regularly to the several Subject Matters in those Informations and Examinations respectively contain'd, as those Lords Committees, who were then out of the House, therefore the Consideration of that Business was *SUSPEND'D*, until the Lord Steward [the Duke of *Devon-*

*Devonshire*] the Earl of *Monmouth*, and the Lord *Delamere* SHOULD RETURN out of the Country. And this appears *more fully*, by the following order of that House, (*viz.*)

Die Jovis, 23<sup>o</sup> Maij, 1689.

**A**fter reading several Papers and Depositions relating to the Death of the late Earl of *Essex*. It is order'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that, the Consideration of this Business shall be SUSPEND'D, until the Return of the Lord Steward, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Lord *Delamere*, who were of the Committee before whom they were made, and who are now in the Country in his Majesty's Services. And it is farther order'd, that the said Depositions and Papers shall be seal'd up, and kept by the Clerk of the Parliament in the mean time.

John Browne,  
Cleric' Parliamentor.

Those Depositions and Examinations lay seal'd up with the Clerk of the Parliament, until the then next Sessions, and upon the 26th of October then next following, the Lords of this Secret Committee mov'd for reviving that Committee, which the House reviv'd by the following Order.

Die Sabbatis, 26<sup>o</sup> Octobris, 1689.

**O**Rder'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, That the Committee appointed on the fifth Day of February, to take Informations concerning the Death of the late of Earl of *Essex*, be, and is hereby reviv'd, to continue and sit as before.

John Browne,  
Cleric' Parliamentor.

Where-



Whereupon the before-mention'd Depositions, and other Papers, which were then seal'd up, and in the Clerk's Custody, were redeliver'd to the Chairman of this Committee, and several other Persons were examin'd by those Lords Committees, who had many more Meetings before the beginning of *January* then following: About which time their Lordships finish'd their Inquiries under this last mention'd Order. And then my Lord *Delamere* was resolv'd to draw up the Report himself, and to present the same to the rest of those Lord's Committees for their *Correction* and *Approbation*. But before Lord *Delamere* had finish'd that intended Report, that Parliament was *Prorogu'd*, and the 6th of *February* then following *Dissolv'd*, and consequently all farther Proceedings hereupon, thereby stop'd. —

So that (in Fact) there never was any regular Report made by those Lords of that Secret Committee, nor did the House of Lords, on the before-mention'd 23 of *May*, any farther consider those Depositions, and Papers, relating to that Matter, than to order, *That the Consideration of that Business should be SUSPENDED*, till three of those four Lords Committees should return out of the Country, where they were then in his Majesty's Service. Wherefore the House of Lords could come to no Resolution, *as to the manner of my Lord of Essex's Death*, until their Lordship's had consider'd, *what Evidence* had been given before the Coroner, to prove the pretended *Self-Murder*, and *what Evidence* there had been produced before the Secret Committee, that *his Lordship was treacherously and barbarously Murdered*. And many of those Informations and Examinations, were taken by this Secret Committee, AFTER the 26th of *October*, 1689, but by that Committee, by reason of the before-mention'd *Prorogation* and *Dissolution*, were never brought into the House of Lords. —

*Devonshire*] the Earl of *Monmouth*, and the Lord *Delamere* SHOULD RETURN out of the Country. And this appears *more fully*, by the following order of that House, (*viz.*)

Die Jovis, 23<sup>o</sup> Maij, 1689.

**A**fter reading several Papers and Depositions relating to the Death of the late Earl of *Effex*. It is order'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembl'd, that, the Consideration of this Business shall be SUSPEND'D, until the Return of the Lord Steward, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Lord *Delamere*, who were of the Committee before whom they were made, and who are now in the Country in his Majesty's Services. And it is farther order'd, that the said Depositions and Papers shall be seal'd up, and kept by the Clerk of the Parliament in the mean time.

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Whereupon the before-mention'd Depositions, and other Papers, which were then seal'd up, and in the Clerk's Custody, were redeliver'd to the Chairman of this Committee, and several other Persons were examin'd by those Lords Committees, who had many more Meetings before the beginning of *January* then following: About which time their Lordships finish'd their Inquiries under this last mention'd Order. And then my Lord *Delamere* was resolv'd to draw up the Report himself, and to present the same to the rest of those Lord's Committees for their *Correction* and *Approbation*. But before Lord *Delamere* had finish'd that intended Report, that Parliament was *Prorogu'd*, and the 6th of *February* then following *Dissolv'd*, and consequently all farther Proceedings hereupon, thereby stop'd.—

So that (in Fact) there never was any regular Report made by those Lords of that Secret Committee, nor did the House of Lords, on the before-mention'd 23 of *May*, any farther consider those Depositions, and Papers, relating to that Matter, than to order, *That the Consideration of that Business should be SUSPENDED*, till three of those four Lords Committees should return out of the Country, where they were then in his Majesty's Service. Wherefore the House of Lords could come to no Resolution, *as to the manner of my Lord of Essex's Death*, until their Lordships had consider'd, *what Evidence* had been given before the Coroner, to prove the pretended *Self-Murder*, and *what Evidence* there had been produced before the Secret Committee, that *his Lordship was treacherously and barbarously Murdered*. And many of those Informations and Examinations, were taken by this Secret Committee, AFTER the 26th of *October*, 1689, but by that Committee, by reason of the before-mention'd *Prorogation* and *Dissolution*, were never brought into the House of Lords. —

And for the Reasons herein before-mention'd, the House of Lords did never *fully Consider* the Evidence, FOR, and AGAINST the *Self-Murder*, and so their Lordship's could *not* come to any Resolution, as to *their Opinion, of the TRUE MANNER of the Death, of that Great, but Unfortunate Lord, Arthur Earl of Essex, in 1683.*

*Objection.* " It may be objected, That if their  
 " Lordships, of this Secret Committee, had BE-  
 " LIEV'D, that those Informations and Examina-  
 " tions by them taken, relating to my Lod's Death,  
 " had prov'd, that the of Earl *Essex* was Murder'd by  
 " others.— That *then* those Lords Committees would  
 " have mov'd the House of Lords, in 1690, when the  
 " New Parliament (after the Dissolution of the  
 " Convention Parliament) first met, That the said  
 " Close Committee might be reviv'd, in order to  
 " their making a Report, upon what Informations  
 " and Examinations had been (as before) taken re-  
 " lating to this Matter. Because the Proof of that  
 " Murder, upon the late King *James*, when Duke of  
 " *York*, would have been of singular Service to the Re-  
 " volution Interest.— And for as much as no such  
 " Motion was made by those Lords Committees, in  
 " any Sessions, after the Dissolution of the Con-  
 " vention Parliament.— It argues (to those Objec-  
 " tors) That the Lords of that Secret Committee,  
 " did NOT BELIEVE, that ALL the *Proofs*, by  
 " them taken, were SUFFICIENT to *incline* the  
 " House of Lords to *believe*, that *Arthur Earl of*  
 " *Essex* was Murder'd by others.

*Ans<sup>r</sup>.* I do confess that the Lord's Commit-  
 tees did *not* move in that New Parliament, in 1690,  
 to revive this Committee, in order to their making a  
 Report, upon the *Proofs* by them taken, relat-  
 ing to that Lord's Death.— And the *True Reason*  
 thereof I could not learn. But this I *Believe*, That no  
*Prosecution*



*Prosecution of any Murder, in the British Annals recorded, ever met with such opposition, as the Prosecution of this Murder hath receiv'd. And*

*First, From ALL the Jacobite Interest, as well Protestant as Papist. And how Great that Interest ever since the Revolution, hath been ; the many Treasonable Conspiracy's, and open Rebellions have sufficiently prov'd.*

*Secondly, King James the Second, being FATHER to the late Queen MARY and Queen ANNE, 'tis natural to Suppose, that neither of those two Queens, would have had their Father STIGMATIZ'D, with that most Infamous Character of being a MURDERER, and in more Instances than ONE. And whether King William, out of respect to his Queen, might any ways hinder the fixing such an INFAMY upon his Queens Father, I cannot tell — But this I sensibly felt to be True (viz.) That Queen Anne, upon her first coming to the Crown, struck me out of the Civil List : Because as her Majesty then said, I had thrown Blood in her Father's Face.*

*Thirdly, The Countess Dowager of Essex (by the Influence of Bishop Burnet) did desire the Lord's Committees in 1689, not to proceed any farther in that Inquiry. For the Countess, by the Bishop, did then endeavour to perswade the Lord's Committees, and several other Lords, that my Lord of Essex Murder'd himself.*

*Fourthly, There was a certain GREAT MAN charg'd, as ORDERING to this Murder, who had been the MAIN INSTRUMENT (in the Hand of Providence) of bringing about the Revolution ; And, BY this very Gentleman's Councils, King William was, for some Years, very much Influenc'd. --- What Interest, therefore that GREAT MAN had with King William,*

or with any other Persons whatsoever, was apply'd, to hinder the Prosecution of this Murder. And,

*Lastly*, The late Bishop *Burnet* himself, was not only the principle Cause of hindering the Countess from Engaging in this Prosecution — But that Prelate did otherwise endeavour to *blast the Credit* of this Inquiry. — By sometimes representing me (as in his late History) an *Enthusiastical Man*, and therefore no Regard was to be had, to what I *said*, or *did*, in relation to that *Inquiry* — At other times, that Bishop did represent me a Man of a very STRONG IMAGINATION (a soft Character of a MADMAN) from whence I was easily inclin'd to take up the *Belief of things*, upon such Evidence, as was not sufficient to prove the things TO BE. But when I was SO possess'd of *Imaginary Beings*, there was no convincing me, by any Arguments, of their *Non-existences*.

But whether that Bishop's Belief of the Self-Murder (by the Earl of *Essex*) or my Belief of that Lord's being barbarously Murder'd by others; be the Effect of proper Evidence, or STRONG IMAGINATION, must be left to every judicious Reader, who shall have read and well consider'd, ALL the Proofs, PRO, and CON, and herein before-mention'd, relating to that Great, but Unfortunate Lord's Death.

I shall now make one reasonable Request to all my Readers, (*viz.*)

That they will ground their Belief, of the manner of my Lord of *Essex's* Death, upon such Evidence as to them shall appear Rational; and not be IMPLICITLY influenc'd to believe it to be, either Self-Murder, or a barbarous Murder committed upon him, by hir'd Assassins, because such or such great Men did believe it to be so, tho' they themselves know not, what Reasons or Proofs those great Persons had for such their Beliefs. All Men know, that the Believing of a LYE; doth not make it



it a **TRUTH**: Nor doth the *Disbelieving a Truth*, make it a **Falshood**.

*All Protestants justly condemn the Church of Rome for imposing an implicit Faith in their Church. But an implicit Belief of a Fact, contrary to what is credibly prov'd, because some Men believe the Fact to be otherwise than what is Sworn, but give no Reasons for such their Belief, is more ridiculous, tho' less dangerous, than an implicit Faith in the Roman Church. Because all Proofs for Matters of FACT, are more easily to be comprehended, by Men of ordinary Capacities than some Evidences, brought to prove some particular Points in Controversy, between Christian Churches.*

Our **LIVES** and **FORTUNES** are now try'd by **JURORS**; and those *Judges* of Facts are *Sworn, well and Truly to Try* (the Matter then in Issue) **ACCORDING to Evidence**. Now that Jury would justly be condemn'd, who should find an Issue, *contrary* to plain credible Evidence, **ONLY** because some great Men did believe the Fact to be, *otherwise* than what it was prov'd to be. If Men will therefore become *Judges, of the manner of this noble LORD's DEATH*. Let their Judgments impartially weigh all the Proofs, that are herein before mention'd, **FOR**, and **AGAINST** the *Self-murder*. And let *that Side turn the Scale*, which shall have produc'd, the *strongest Evidence*, relating to the Matter in Question.

And I do hereby solemnly assure the Reader that I have herein printed nothing Material, in Proof of my Lord's being barbarously Murder'd: But what I printed and publish'd about thirty four Years since, (*viz.*) in 1690, and Dedicated ~~to~~ the same *to the* four Lords Committees. And I printed two Thousand of those Books, and about ten Thousand Abstracts thereof, but could never Meet with any printed Answer to the Proofs then brought for that barbarous Murder. And that such a Book was then printed

printed and publish'd, I do purpose to give sufficient Proof thereof, by leaving three of those Books at three several Coffee-Houses, one at a Coffee-House near *Charing-Cross*, another at a Coffee-House near the *Temple*, and a third near the *Royal-Exchange*; of which respective Places, notice shall be given in some publick Paper. And with each Book such an Index as shall immediately direct to the Thing inquir'd for.

I shall now give a *brief Relation*, of what was Suppos'd to be ONE of the *Principle Occasions*, of (*hastening*) the Poysoning of King *Charles the Second*. (*viz.*)

Some short time before the Death of that *unhappy Prince*, there was a Pamphlet writ and printed in *Holland*, entitled,  
*An Inquiry into, and Detection of the barbarous Murder of the late Earl of Essex.*

And many Hundreds of these were brought to *England*.

In this Pamphlet, there were many Arguments given to prove that Murder. — And the Author did therein humbly beseech his then Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to give his Royal Assurance of a Pardon to him, who should prove that Murder — And THEN the DUKE of *TORK* should be prov'd to have been the *Principle Author*, and *Rewarder* thereof.

Several Hundred of those Books were, one Night, about *Twenty Days* before King *Charles the Second's* Death, dispers'd by some Gentlemen, and for the most part, laid at the Doors of Privy Counsellors, and of other Noblemen, and Justices of the Peace.

ONE of those Books was then convey'd to the King, who read the same, and then sent for the Lord *Allington*, then *Constable of the Tower*, and charg'd his Lordship to read and consider the same, and in a short time to return the Book, and to give his



his Majesty his Opinion thereof, and also what his Lordship thought, as to the manner of the Earl of *Essex's* Death.

My Lord *Allington* lent this Book to Sir *Thomas Rowe*, but charg'd him to return it the then next Day, because his Lordship did intend then to restore that Book to the King.

Sir *Thomas* read and return'd the Book accordingly; and shortly after waited again upon the Lord *Allington*, who did then inform Sir *Thomas*, that he had again been with his Majesty, and return'd that Book, and that thereupon the King ask'd my Lord, whether he had read, and consider'd the same? And his Lordship answer'd, that, in humble Obedience to his Majesty's Commands, he had read, and consider'd the Contents thereof. Whereupon the King Then commanded my Lord to give his Judgment, as to the Death of the Earl of *Essex*. But his Lordship did then humbly beseech His Majesty to excuse him from giving any Judgment therein. Whereupon the King then said. I command you to deal very plainly and sincerely with me in relation thereunto, Sir, reply'd my Lord, if your Majesty commands me to deal therein sincerely with your Majesty. I must then say, That *I am of Opinion*, That unfortunate Lord, had very foul Play.

THEN (if I live) said the King I will make a very strict Inquiry into that Matter. - - And I command you to come to me to Morrow

As soon as the Lord *Allington* withdrew, the Duke of *Tork* came in, whilst the King had the Book in his Hand—And (as the King the next Day inform'd my Lord) the Duke ask'd his Majesty, who had brought him, that villanious lying Pamphlet? But the King then said, that he did not believe it to be a lying Pamphlet, and that his Majesty was resolv'd to make a strict Inquiry into the Earl of *Essex's* Death—And his Highness should go Abroad  
be-

before that Inquisition was made — The Duke there-  
upon declar'd, That

*He had already Travell'd too much.*

The Substance of what is above-mention'd, relating to what past, between King Charles the Second, and the Lord *Allington*, I had from Sir *Thomas Rome*, soon after the Revolution. And some few Days after that Discourse between the King and Duke, the KING and the Lord *ALLINGTON*, were seisd, with such an ILLNESS, as was generally thought to be the *Effects* of *POTSON*.

And the Lord *Allington* dy'd, about three Days before the KING, and his Majesty dy'd the 6th Day of *February* 1684-5. And SO by that King's being FORC'D to Travel too soon into the other World --

*King James* delay'd his own Travels in this, until the Consciousness of his own Guilt, and the just Dessertion of his own Troops, forc'd him to become a FUGITIVE, and a PENTIONER, to that Great Monarch, whose arbitrary Government, he lik'd much better, than to be circumscrib'd by those good Laws, which hinder'd him from ruining both our CHURCH and STATE.

F I N I S.











